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The Shape of Things

CONTINUED GREEK VICTORIES IN ALBANIA, British successes in Africa, and President Roosevelt's strong hand against the dictators appear to have stiffened Bulgaria's spine to resist Nazi demands. In a public address delivered Sunday Premier Philoff reaffirmed his government's determination to keep out of the war, but pledged resistance in case his country was attacked. The possibility that Bulgaria might keep this pledge was considerably strengthened by the promise of a high Turkish official that Turkey would declare war if German troops crossed the Rumanian frontier into Bulgaria. Added significance was given to the Turkish statement by the somewhat unexpected initiation of consultations between the Turkish and British military and air staffs. Not unrelated was the flat denial by *Tass,* the Soviet news agency, of reports that Germany had requested or obtained consent for the entry of German troops into Bulgaria. *Tass* also denied that Bulgaria had appealed for assistance against a German attack and had been turned down. Since Turkey could hardly have made its pledge of support to Bulgaria without consultation with Moscow, it may be assumed that the Soviets are continuing to give at least tacit backing to Bulgarian-Turkish resistance.

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IS THE NEW GERMAN-RUSSIAN COMMERCIAL treaty simply an arrangement for the exchange of goods produced by the two countries, or does it include an agreement by which Russia acts as middleman in order to assist the Nazis in breaking down the British blockade? The second possibility is suggested by several circumstances, including the defiant tone of the Soviet press comments, which suggests that protests are expected. In its negotiations with the Soviets, so far abortive, Britain, we believe, has not sought to prevent the sale of Russian goods to Germany but has wished to check the resale of overseas products imported by the Russian government. Nevertheless, in an apparent effort to conciliate Moscow, it has not interfered with shipments into Vladivostok, although it is known that Germany is receiving a certain amount of material by this route. The new agreement, according to Berlin reports, covers additional purchases of cotton, of which Russia is said to have an increased

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export surplus. In this case, how are the recent large exports of American cotton to Russia to be explained except as replacements of fiber sold to Germany? We also note that Russia is to supply the Nazis with additional quantities of vegetable oils and that by a curious coincidence large-scale Soviet purchases of similar materials here and in the Philippines have been reported in the past few weeks. Again, in spite of the fact that a bumper harvest is said to have made possible increased sales of grain to Germany, Russian offers to buy large quantities of Argentine grain are rumored. There is reason to suspect, therefore, that Russia is allowing itself to be used by Germany to enlarge the gaps in the British blockade. If this is so, it is hardly possible to blame Downing Street for its alleged intransigence regarding the U. S. S. R.

*

BORDER FIGHTING BETWEEN THAILAND and French Indo-China has gradually intensified until it has taken the form of an undeclared war. Thailand has charged the French with an attempted air attack on Bangkok, and has threatened to retaliate against Saigon, Pnom Penh, and other French cities. Artillery duels and heavy fighting are reported in Cambodia, where Thai troops have crossed the border into French territory. Although Japan is generally recognized to be behind the Thailand demands—and to be the source of Thailand's munitions—Tokyo has so far made no open move to take advantage of the situation. It is probable that Japanese ambitions are directed in about equal measure against both countries. Pressure continues against Indo-China for a naval base in the south which could be used against Singapore or the East Indies. No demands, except of an economic character, have yet been presented to the Thailand government. But the encouragement given to Thailand is reminiscent of the encouragement which Hitler gave to Poland's demands against Czechoslovakia in 1938. If the struggle should develop into protracted conflict, and the belligerents seemed to be about evenly matched, Japan would be in a position to make another bloodless conquest.

*

WE SUSPECT ULTERIOR PURPOSES IN THE NEW drive for a six-day week in defense industries. The truth is that workers in eight defense industries, including machine tools and electrical equipment, are already working from forty-four to fifty-two hours a week. There has been no objection whatever from the unions to working more than forty hours a week provided two conditions are met. One is that the work be really of a kind in which there is a shortage of skilled hands, making longer hours necessary. The other is that overtime be paid. The unions have preferred that employers, instead of paying overtime, hire extra shifts at regular pay where unemployed men are available. This certainly seems sound policy to us. What some employers apparently want is to get rid of overtime pay. It is good in this connection to note the splendid speech made by Wage-Hour Administrator Fleming over an NBC network on January 8, in which he upheld the payment of overtime in reply to a recent speech made by Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors, asking for a longer working day and week. Production Chief Knudsen seems to agree with Colonel Fleming. The latter quoted Knudsen as saying, "What the National Defense Commission wants is more machine hours. Machines if properly cared for can work 168 hours a week. Men can't. I know from my own experience that ten hours a day is too much. The man who works at a machine ten hours a day is good for about eight and one-half hours' normal production."

*

THE PROTECTION AFFORDED WORKERS BY the Wagner Act is extended one crucial step further by Justice Stone's eloquent and persuasive opinion in the Heinz case. Justice McReynolds took no part in the decision, but the court was otherwise unanimously with Justice Stone in holding that an employer who refuses to reduce a collective-bargaining agreement to writing is guilty of violating the act. "A business man who entered into negotiations with another for an agreement having numerous provisions," Justice Stone wrote, "with the reservation that he would not reduce it to writing or sign it could hardly be thought to have bargained in good faith. This is even more true in the case of an employer who, by his refusal to honor with his signature the agreement which he has made with a labor organization, discredits the organization, impairs the bargaining process, and tends to frustrate the aim of the statute to secure industrial peace through collective bargaining." All but one of the Circuit Courts passing on this question have so held in the past, the exception being the Seventh Circuit in the Inland Steel case, a decision given far more publicity by the press than the final one in the Heinz case. The Wagner Act does not require an employer to reach an agreement. It is not a compulsory-arbitration law. But the court now upholds the Labor Board in declaring that where an agreement is reached it must be put in writing and signed.

*

THE AMERICAN RESCUE SHIP MISSION, HIT by a depth bomb last week, is still afloat but listing heavily to port. Founded for the announced purpose of rescuing some 200,000 Spanish Loyalists from internment camps in France, manned by a crew of exemplary citizens including particularly ministers, writers, college professors, and Helen Keller, launched in a blaze of expensive publicity, the mission was ultimately discovered

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to be operating under the not-very-remote control of Communists and their supporters. This fact by itself would have been interesting rather than important—interesting because it was so elaborately and effectively camouflaged. What disturbed other organizations working for the same ends was the exaggerated, misleading, contradictory claims made by the Rescue Ship organization. When these were fully exposed in an article by Frederick Woltman in the New York *World-Telegram,* the non-partisan members of the Rescue Ship crew began to scramble hastily over the side. A few, either too devoted or too innocent to desert, remain on board. But the ship, which was little more than a phantom at any time, is not likely to remain afloat much longer. Luckily the fate of the Spaniards in France does not hang on the success of this particular venture. Other organizations are working conscientiously if less spectacularly in their behalf, and their own representatives in the United States and Mexico have been trying desperately to obtain their release from the Vichy authorities and to arrange for their transportation.

*

FRANCO IS TO BE APPEASED EVEN THOUGH vigorous opposition to such a move has sidetracked an official government loan. It has been announced that the American Red Cross, with the full approval of the State Department, will dispatch a shipload of food to Spain late this month. The food is to be bought out of the $50,000,000 which Congress voted to the Red Cross for relief abroad. In line with its general appeasement policy toward Spain, Great Britain has granted permission for the ship, which will also bear condensed milk and vitamin concentrates for French children, to pass the British blockade. Meanwhile, Argentina is reported to be considering granting a $100,000,000 loan to Franco. This loan would equal in size the much-disputed credit which was not granted by the United States. It would be made possible by the $50,000,000 credit recently granted Argentina from the United States Stabilization Fund. In this case Britain has apparently not only agreed to pass Argentine products but undertaken to aid the clearing arrangements. Franco has not been asked to make any commitment with regard to entry into the war in return for the projected Argentine loan. The United States, it is believed, has demanded such a promise in return for the shipment of food, but since the decision for or against entering the war depends in the end on Hitler, and not on Franco, a promise means rather less than nothing. What the United States should demand as a minimum condition for sending relief is an end of Franco's indiscriminate persecution of Republican sympathizers. We should also insist that he withdraw all objections to the removal of Spanish refugees from unoccupied France to Mexico and other countries in the Western Hemisphere.

The President's Plan

THE people of the United States have set their President a tremendous task. They have asked him to provide aid to Britain on a scale which will enable that country to overcome the terrific odds against it, and they have asked that this end shall be accomplished without our physical involvement in the war. That is an assignment of an unprecedented nature, and if it is to be carried out with any hope of success Mr. Roosevelt must be given authority of an unprecedented kind. He must be enabled to act with speed and secrecy; he must be left free to decide on the quantity and quality of aid indicated by the course of events. If the dikes of European democracy, which are holding back the tide of war from our shores, develop a weakness at any particular spot he must be empowered to send swiftly whatever form of material aid is needed to reinforce that position.

These are the broad purposes of the new bill to "further promote the defense of the United States," and in the light of the world situation we do not think that the additional powers it confers on the President are excessive. But we think that Mr. Roosevelt might have been wiser in his manner of requesting these powers. In preparing the ground for the bill he moved with his usual sureness of touch. He waited until public opinion had matured to the point where he could sum it up with masterly clarity, and in so doing he elevated the whole question of our part in the war to a position above politics. But in the drafting of the bill, and still more in its method of introduction, Mr. Roosevelt seems to have made errors in tactics which reduce the effectiveness of his strategy. In particular, it is difficult to see why he failed to capitalize the non-partisan support he was receiving by omitting Republican Congressional leaders from the prior consultations, especially when Senator Austin, acting minority leader in the upper house, is one of the strongest advocates of aid to Britain.

A second mistake, we believe, was the absence of any time limit in the bill. Since the President is asking for extraordinary powers, which he himself recognizes can only be justified by the intensity of the emergency, a request limited to a definite period would have done much to disarm suspicion. At the end of, say, two years, either the bill will no longer be necessary or events will dictate its renewal. We hope, therefore, that Mr. Roosevelt will bow speedily and gracefully to the widespread demand for a time limit.

Another criticism of the measure which seems to us to carry weight is the failure to make definite provision for keeping Congress informed of the steps taken by the President to implement its purposes. Obviously military necessities may preclude prompt disclosure of some actions taken under the authority of the bill, but it would seem possible to provide for periodic reports to Congress.

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In this connection, however, it should be noted that the bill confers general authority only and will have to be supplemented from time to time by appropriations which will afford Congress an opportunity for discussion and the exercise of general supervision. As a matter of tactics, it would have been wise to place more emphasis on this point.

While calling attention to such possibilities for strengthening the bill, we should like to make it clear that most of the attacks on it seem to us fantastic. The power which it will give to the President is intensive rather than extensive, for it is confined to the field of procurement of military supplies. It does not, as some of its wilder opponents aver, enable the President to upset the Constitution, suspend the Bill of Rights, or declare war. Only an irresponsibility literally blind could have led the Chicago *Tribune* to comment: "This is a bill for the destruction of the American Republic. It is a bill for an unlimited dictatorship with power over the possessions and lives of the American people, with power to make war and alliances for war."

We are sure that both Congress and the people will reject such violent distortions and that the bill will be enacted into law. Its importance is such that it demands full debate, but we hope that attempts to delay its passage by obstructionist tactics will be sternly resisted, for time is still snapping at our heels. The American people, to quote the London *Economist,* are "running a big enough risk in all conscience to expect the people of Britain to hold out with their own resources all through a year with such a grim augury as 1941. If the British people must not set their expectations any earlier than January 1, 1942, the American people must not set their expectations any later."

Billions for Defense

SEVENTEEN and a half billion dollars is a staggering sum, difficult to deal with mentally, for it is of the same order of magnitude as the distance to the sun or the speed of light. It is well to remember, therefore, that there is economic as well as astronomic relativity, and we can better grasp the significance of the budget total if we consider it as a proportion of that still vaster sum, the national income. By this we mean the whole amount of goods and services available for our consumption in a given period. In the year just closed, national income is estimated to have been approximately $74 billion; for the fiscal year 1941-42 a conservative guess would place it at around $85 billion, and it may easily reach $90 billion.

We see, then, that the $17½ billion which the President proposes to lay out in 1941-42 is equivalent to nearly one-quarter of the national income in 1940 but is only about one-fifth of the national income which we may reasonably expect during the period for which this expenditure is budgeted. Looking at it another way, we can deduct what the government will spend from the total goods and services produced, and we shall find that the amount available for civilian consumption will be greater than it has been in any recent year.

In citing these comparisons we do not intend to belittle the effort which a national expenditure of $17½ billion involves or to imply that a budget of this magnitude is a good thing *per se.* It is, as the President pointed out in his message, "the reflection of a world at war" and a burden which we accept only because of bitter necessity. Nevertheless, it is a burden which will be more easily handled if we retain a sense of proportion about it. And we may still count our blessings after reflecting on the much heavier load weighing upon other countries. In the current year Britain's war expenditures will amount to at least 60 per cent of the national income, and European neutrals, such as Sweden and Switzerland, are forced to meet, from incomes much reduced by the collapse of their foreign trade, defense bills proportionately much larger than our own.

In the coming year our chief fiscal problem will not be to keep within the limits of the budget but to spend the full sums provided. For a saving on the estimates can only mean, by and large, a lag in the production of the weapons we need for defense. During the second half of 1940 monthly expenditures under the defense program averaged nearly $300 million. According to the President, the first six months of this year should see this average stepped up to nearly $800 million, and the fulfilment of the program for the fiscal year 1941-42 calls for an average monthly outlay of $900 million. To attain these figures an enormous increase in the output of the defense industries will be necessary, and we must remember that they have also huge orders to fill for Britain. Success in this direction can only be achieved by arduous planning to avoid bottlenecks and by the inclusion in the defense program of all idle productive capacity. As President Murray of the C. I. O. and other authorities have been pointing out, there is a tendency to overload the major industrial units while neglecting smaller concerns capable in the aggregate of making a very important contribution to our needs.

The rapidity with which defense output is increased has a very considerable bearing on the extent to which it may be possible to reduce non-defense expenditures. In the budget message Mr. Roosevelt pointed out that nearly half the items in this category were fixed obligations, such as interest and pensions, or were required by legislative commitments. However, items susceptible to administrative action have been cut 15 per cent below last year's estimates. The largest reduction is a 50 per cent decrease in the proposed appropriation for the

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WPA. Critics have objected that this and other cuts are inadequate, but that is a matter which can hardly be decided until we learn by experience how rapidly defense production can be accelerated and how extensively it sops up unemployment. If during the next fiscal year defense expenditure achieves budget objectives, it is possible that the sums required for WPA will fall below estimates. But if industry lags behind schedule, the provision made for work relief may prove too small.

The President pointed out that employers could assist in the reduction of WPA costs by hiring unskilled or semi-skilled or older workers for jobs not requiring extensive training. Unfortunately there exists an unjustified prejudice against WPA workers in some quarters. Further, it is a disgraceful but proved fact that certain industrial concerns would rather suffer a shortage of labor than hire colored workers. While this attitude persists, WPA may be the only recourse for numbers of hard-working men who are denied an opportunity to contribute their labor to national defense.

We must expect that during Congressional consideration of appropriations attempts will be made to whittle down other items of social significance in the civil section of the budget. All such efforts must be carefully watched, for there are false prophets of economy in Congress who tend to regard all social expenditure as waste. The total defense of democracy, as the President pointed out, does not depend on weapons of war alone. We need those to defend us from external aggression. But we must also have "jobs, health, and security to strengthen the bulwarks of democracy." Those are the twin objectives which the budget message sets for the nation, and in reaching toward both we must be on our guard against uneconomic economies.

China in Danger

A HIGHLY pessimistic report of political and economic conditions in China is contained in a dispatch from Edgar Snow, one of the best-informed American journalists in the Far East, printed recently by the New York *Herald Tribune*. It would seem that despite the prospect of increasing aid from the United States China is threatened with defeat, not because of Japan's superior military power, but because of growing internal dissension. This dissension has its roots in the extremely difficult economic situation which has developed in free China. The full cost of three and a half years of war is now making itself felt. Prices have skyrocketed as much as 1,000 per cent since last March. Widespread profiteering and hoarding have intensified the shortages resulting from the war and blockade.

The existing discontent has found expression in a renewed conflict between right-wing elements in the Kuomintang and the Communists. Antagonism between these groups has been smoldering throughout the war. On several occasions it has flamed up in fighting that was close to civil war. But each time an open cleavage has been averted by the personal intercession of Chiang Kai-shek, who has recognized, if some of his subordinates have not, that a divided China could not hope to hold out against Japan. The present difficulties seem to have started in November, when Ho Ying-chin—the Minister of War whose anti-Communist bias nearly cost Chiang Kai-shek his life when the Generalissimo was kidnapped in Sian four years ago—demanded that the Communist Fourth Route Army withdraw from the rich Shanghai-Nanking area which it has recovered from the Japanese during the last three years. The Communists countered by renewing their long-standing demands for legalization of their party, release of Communists imprisoned by the Kuomintang, resumption of ammunition shipments to the Eighth and Fourth Route armies, and the summoning of a national people's conference to institute a more democratic rule in China.

Although details are not available, the most recent reports indicate that the Red Army leaders have given way all along the line. Major Carlson, who has just reached Hongkong after a four-month tour of nine provinces in free China, declares that although the friction between the right-wing elements in the Kuomintang and the Communists has been critical, the crisis has passed. This is disputed by Snow, who fears that the dispute may become intense enough to precipitate civil war in the spring. Unlike the earlier agreements between Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists, the present understanding does not seem to be based on reciprocity. The Communists, with some cause, feel that they have been unjustly treated, while right-wing elements are little better satisfied. The issues which divide the groups are basic and cannot be resolved in the midst of a life-and-death struggle with Japan. But it is clear that whatever happens unity must be maintained. By taking definite steps to extend political democracy within China, Chiang would provide a safety valve for all forms of domestic discontent. The right-wing leaders insist that a people's congress, if called at this time, would not be fully representative, because numerous delegates in Japanese-occupied regions would not be able to reach Chungking in time, thus leaving the field to the Communists. This may be true. But the announcement of definite plans to summon a conference on a more suitable occasion would help remove a serious element of conflict.

Of equal importance, if China is to be saved from defeat, are measures to relieve the acute economic situation. Here responsibility falls primarily upon the United States. Immediate assistance on a large scale—or even news that such aid was on the way—would lessen the discontent and prevent a collapse of Chinese resistance.

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"Uncensored"

AT REGULAR intervals we wonder if there is anyone in the world quite so naive as a "hard-boiled" reporter. This time the wonder is aroused by an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* by Demaree Bess, who has been touring the "new Europe" with the permission of the German authorities and with their assurance that while his articles would be scrutinized to see that they did not "inadvertently" contain military information they would not be censored in any other way. Mr. Bess's first article contains the results of what he calls his "exploration" of Norway. The first third is devoted to a cozy description of how he obtained the cooperation of the Nazis for his venture and persuaded them that he should be allowed to send uncensored reports to the American public; then he introduces Major Vidkun Quisling and his police chief, Jonas Lie, and outlines at length their view that Germany is sure to win and that their careers as Nazi puppets will be justified by history.

In the course of his article he states that the majority of Norwegians do not support the Nazis' tools—"Quisling himself told me so"; and toward the end he says that Norway is experiencing a form of civil warfare. But he seems to accept the word of Lie and Quisling that no violence occurred in September when Norway was incorporated into the "new order," and he concludes peacefully: "Partly due to the restraining presence of the German army, partly as a result of the calm Norwegian temperament, this civil war has proceeded thus far with little violence. . . . Norway waits today . . . for others to settle its destiny."

The *Post* is sure of Mr. Bess's integrity but obviously skeptical of his picture. It points out that reports of sabotage and bombings anywhere in German-conquered territory presumably would be regarded as military information, and it cites the reports coming out of Stockholm, which, to say the least, do not substantiate Mr. Bess's view. These Stockholm reports are mostly hearsay, of course, but at least one of them is based on specific documentary evidence. It cites an article by Nils Flom, one of Quisling's henchmen, which appeared recently in *Fritt Folk,* Quisling's official organ. "Even Norwegian Nazis have a right to exist," writes Flom, and his article is described as one long appeal for help from Oslo in combating the opposition in western Norway, which "completely dominates the situation." This is only one item, but its point is sharp enough to prick Mr. Bess's balloon.

Mr. Bess's integrity may be unassailable, but we are willing to bet that, given his understandable journalistic desire to visit all of "German Europe" and send back "uncensored" articles, we shall now discover that every conquered country, thanks to the "restraining presence" of the German army and the "calm temperament" of its people is waiting, etc.

At regular intervals we wonder if there is anyone in the world quite so smart as the Nazis.

Mr. Pollitt as Guide

WHAT do those blind people of the left who find nothing to choose between the tyranny of Germany and the "so-called democracy" of England make of the People's Convention which met in London on January 12? Here in the bombed capital of a country fighting for life 2,200 men and women, under a floodlight of publicity, proposed to overthrow the British government and supplant it with one that would negotiate for peace with the German people. No storm troopers swept down on the convention hall; no delegates were packed into sealed freight cars bound for the pleasures of the concentration camp; no British executioner lopped off the head of Harry Pollitt or of any of his Communist and fellow-traveler colleagues who inspired and operated the convention. In fact, not a single policeman appeared on the scene. The tolerant attitude of the government reflects both the health of British democracy and the relative insignificance of the convention.

Few Britons, we suspect, will be taken in by the convention platform, which calls in effect for a civil war—when the country is on the point of invasion—in order to negotiate a peace with a German people's government that doesn't exist. If the movers of this gathering had the intentions they profess, they would apply their energies to the desperate struggle to overthrow Hitler and then employ their revolutionary strength and tactics to force the people's peace they talk about. They might even take as their guide the excellent statement issued by their own Harry Pollitt on September 14, eleven days after the outbreak of war. As general secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain the Mr. Pollitt who is now a guiding spirit of the People's Convention wrote:

> The Communist Party supports the war, believing it to be a just war which should be supported by the whole working class and all friends of democracy in Britain. . . . To stand aside from this conflict, to contribute only revolutionary-sounding phrases while the fascist beasts ride roughshod over Europe, would be a betrayal of everything our forbears have fought to achieve in the course of long years of struggle against capitalism. . . . The British workers are in this war to defeat Hitler, for a German victory would mean that fascism would be imposed on the defeated countries.

Then the new line, based on Russia's pact with the "fascist beasts," came through from Moscow, and in the twinkling of an eye Mr. Pollitt found himself fighting against an "imperialist war."

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From NDAC to OPM

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 12

THE course of human affairs may not proceed with Euclidean neatness, but the bitter fight being waged here for control of the defense machinery will be better understood if we start with a few simple axioms. War increases the demand for labor and for capital. Capital in war time invariably seeks to use its increased bargaining power with government as a means of reducing labor's newly enhanced power to bargain with capital. Capital tries to prevent labor from "taking advantage of the crisis" while itself fully exploiting the improved bargaining position conferred on capital by the war-time market. The organized cry to outlaw strikes on defense contracts is proof of the one. The ease with which capital last year obtained repeal of profit limitations on defense contracts is proof of the other. For both purposes capital needs control of the defense machinery. Basically it is this which lies behind the alphabet soup reshuffle from NDAC to OPM, and it is this which accounts for the disappointment felt in business circles over the President's refusal to make William S. Knudsen the one-man boss of the new Office for Production Management. The executive order naming Sidney Hillman as Knudsen's associate was the greatest setback the dollar-a-year men have suffered since the election.

In a very real sense the behind-the-scenes fight over the executive order was an extension of the election campaign. The masters of enterprise are not content to cast a ballot once every four years. Their failure to instal a Willkie in the White House only made them the more eager to instal a Willkie in the defense machinery. They complain that the new OPM order divides authority between Knudsen and Hillman. They wanted to divide authority between Knudsen and Roosevelt. The division of authority between Knudsen and Hillman makes Mr. Roosevelt the final arbiter on defense matters. That is what they resent, and that is what they sought to avoid by a palace cabal. The President's intentions, despite claims to the contrary, were made quite clear in the December 20 press conference, at which he first announced the establishment of the OPM. At that time he decried talk of a one-man boss for production for defense, explaining that there were three elements in the productive picture, management, labor, and the buyer, and that he wanted all three equally represented in the OPM. Knudsen was to represent management, Hillman to represent labor, Stimson and Knox the army and navy as purchasers. Obviously this was quite different from the one-man setup proposed by the conservative press and from the three-man board made up of Knudsen, Stimson, and Knox which was suggested by the army and navy. The drafting of the executive order to carry out the President's instructions was left with Budget Director Harold Smith, White House Administrative Assistant William McReynolds, and Louis Brownlow, coauthor of the President's government-reorganization plan. To attribute what they did to the "extreme vagueness" of the President's instructions, as two conservative newspaper columnists have since done, is feeble apologetics.

What these three gentlemen did was to confer with Knudsen's counsel, Frederick Eaton, and Stettinius's counsel, Blackwell Smith, both Wall Streeters, and emerge with a draft that would have made Knudsen the "director general" of the new Office for Production Management and left Hillman a mere "adviser." Characteristic of the way the dollar-a-year men tend to operate was their failure to consult with Sidney Hillman, who was laid up with the grippe, or with Hillman's devoted counsel, Maxwell Brandwen. Neither side in this fight will do much talking, but so far as I can determine, Brandwen first learned of this order from a story about it in the *Wall Street Journal*. Stimson and Knox, the story said, were to retain their administrative functions under Knudsen, and these three would comprise the administrative board of the OPM; Hillman would be "relegated to a position of 'adviser' to Knudsen with no administrative authority." Brandwen read this and went to battle.

Harry Hopkins and Attorney General Jackson helped to defeat the dollar-a-year men. I hope revelation of the part he played will not cause trouble for the Attorney General. The day before I learned of the help he had given, I was informed by two persons, both in the government, that the FBI in checking on the household help and landladies of government employees, was asking whether these employees had entertained or consorted with any persons of "communistic" or "pro-labor" views. My informants, neither of whom had any sympathy with the Communist Party, insisted that the phrase "pro-labor" had been used by FBI agents.

The bitter attacks made on Hillman in Congress last week were not accidental. "Let Congress act," the New York *Herald Tribune* demanded on January 9. "It has the power to direct the organization of the defense program upon a sound and efficient basis—with a single head in supreme control." The dollar-a-year men will

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seek to do through Congress what they have failed to do in the White House. Their defeat is essential if the United States is to be adequately prepared and to give increased aid to Britain. Knudsen, a man of winning sincerity and simplicity, did not lack authority before and does not lack it now. Legally, the shift from NDAC to OPM has given him more power. Actually he lacked not power but imagination, daring, and will. Spiritually he is still a General Motors employee and cannot be expected effectively to boss men who were his employers before and may be so again. He is neither a Baruch nor a Beaverbrook, and if he is given supreme power it will be exercised not by him but by shrewder and less honorable men in less conspicuous posts. The effect of giving Knudsen supreme power would be not to speed production but to push labor out of the picture.

The events of the past few weeks have vividly demonstrated the need for labor representation at the top of the defense picture, and not merely as an aid in winning justice for the worker and preserving his morale. Labor through the Reuther plan first brought home the existence of unused man-power and machines in the automotive industry. Labor through the S. W. O. C. was the first to reveal the existence of unused capacity in steel. Experience in the last war showed that there is a tendency on the part of the big companies to monopolize war orders at the expense of productive efficiency. Only labor has an interest in maximum employment and maximum productivity. In the last war it did not matter that many American concerns failed miserably to provide planes and ordnance in sizable quantities, for the factories of the Allies could supply our troops. This time the situation is different, and it is only on labor that we can rely for the discovery of the productive short cuts that may eat into profits but can speed output. Philip Murray is now preparing "Reuther plans" for other industries. Hillman in the past has had a kind of stepchild role. He was not consulted on production. He wasn't shown production contracts and could not see whether army and navy were keeping their pledges to labor, which they are not. Now, if he has the courage and energy, he can have a voice in the productive process. The public is waking up to the fact that labor can provide production leadership.

Paris in the Reich

[*For obvious reasons the author of this letter must not be named, but his identity is known to us. He is an American who has lived in Paris for more than twenty years.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Paris, December 22

SIX months of living under German occupation should allow an observer to give an exact impression of the state of mind of the people of Paris. The feeling of moral annihilation which followed the lightning collapse of France has been succeeded by a new spirit of confidence, which is not unrelated to the strength of British resistance and to the Italian reverses in Greece and Egypt. It should not be assumed that this means that the Parisian carries his sincere dislike of the Germans to the point of heroic opposition to the regime of occupation. But it is evident, at least, that the people know perfectly well what is going on. Even though in the Paris press one sees no other news than that authorized by the Nazi high command, each Greek victory and each success of the British navy is known almost instantaneously here. People do not read the French papers. Long ago they rejected them as *boche* journals, and it is useless for M. Déat to exercise his mediocre talents in trying to convince his countrymen through the columns of *l'Œuvre* that the best interest of France is to cooperate in the establishment of a new European order under Hitler. On the other hand, everyone who owns a radio uses all his imagination and initiative to subdue the conflicting noises in his machine in order that he may listen quietly to London or Boston. The Boston short-wave station, which broadcasts in French, is immensely popular. Anyone who has lived in India knows from experience how news or rumor travels by word of mouth hundreds of miles with incredible speed. In the same way news of the Italian defeats circulates here, and hatred and contempt for the enemy, which dishonored itself forever with the "stab in the back," contribute to make the Italian disasters in Albania and Libya fully enjoyed as the only sparks of light that illuminate this dark Christmas Eve.

If in the beginning anti-British propaganda, carried out by Goebbels's agents and by the versatile Marcel Déat, showed itself efficient, now the majority of Parisians begin to look upon British resistance as their own battle. With that spirit of grace which never deserts this people even in its blackest hours, a French friend told me, commenting on the attitude of his countrymen toward England: "To be exact, the population can be classified as follows: 38 per cent Anglophile, 42 per cent Anglophobe, and the rest without opinion. The Anglophile says, 'Pray God the English will win!' The Anglophobe says, 'The question is, will those damn English have enough guts to lick Hitler?' "

Since November 11 the Nazi authorities have realized

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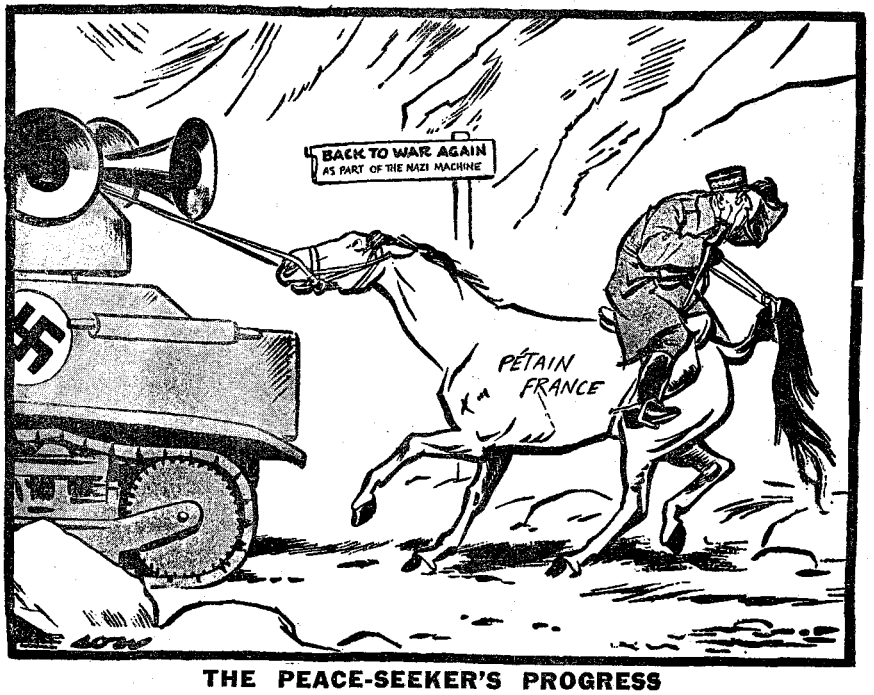
that the occupation of Paris by the armies of the Führer is purely material and that the soul of the French capital will forever escape them. Foreseeing that the commemoration of the Armistice would provide an opportunity to the French people to show their true feelings, Vichy ordered that Armistice Day should be a day like any other. Everybody should go to work. But that evening the people of Paris, instead of going back to their sad homes, started to march, as if following an inner command, to the tomb of the Unknown Soldier. In less than an hour the Champs Elysées was as crowded as on the most exciting July 14. It was a compact and grave crowd, impressive through the dignity of its silence and its sorrow. Nothing could be heard except the tramping feet or the impatient horn of some car carrying Nazi officers. Suddenly in the tight ranks of men and women a daring group of young people, mostly students, pushed through. Each one carried in his hand a long stick such as is used in this country to knock nuts from the trees, a *gaulle (gauller les noix)*. They thrust the sticks above the heads of the crowd, shouting "Vive De ——! Vive De——!" Everyone realized at once that they were crying "Vive De Gaulle!" The police tried to reach them. It was impossible. The people crowded together tighter and tighter. The students were already at the base of the Unknown Soldier's tomb. And now a great chorus cried "Vive De——!" and raised the *gaulles* in time with their shout. The Gestapo came up in their cars. They shot into the air. It was too late. Paris had already celebrated the Armistice by acclaiming the leader of "Free France" and demonstrating against Hitler.

Minor manifestations of this feeling have taken place in the movie houses. People no longer like to go because they are afraid of the consequences. For instance, one day the Nazi propaganda bureau was showing a film of so-called "British atrocities"—British bombers over German cities. Exclamations of "Bravo!" swept through the crowd. The show was halted, and the people were warned that if such a thing happened again two persons selected at random from every row would be arrested. The lights went out and the show continued—now in a most impressive silence. The silence was absolute—because as soon as the theater became dark the entire crowd had moved out.

This spirit makes more and more difficult the task of the internal traitors. Laval, for instance, is finished. Since he came from Vichy, his car escorted by the personal guard of Abetz—today Hitler's ambassador, previously his leading fifth columnist in France—Laval has been for Paris *l'homme des Allemands*. By trying to force the situation, to impose Laval on Pétain, Hitler showed how the Italian defeats had shaken his nerve. When Hitler realized that the game was lost in the eastern Mediterranean as a consequence of the Italian defeats, he tried to offset the deterioration of the situation of the Axis powers by planning a new coup against Britain in the western Mediterranean. For that he needed the cooperation of France. Through Laval, Hitler tried to induce Vichy to consent to change the present transitory status of an armistice into a peace treaty. France, he suggested, could immediately obtain a peace much better than that which would await it if Hitler should succeed in breaking the British resistance. The price of that peace would be that France should place the rest of its navy at the service of Germany and cooperate from Africa in a general offensive in the western Mediterranean—an offensive which would include the much-announced assault upon Gibraltar through Spain.

It was at this moment that the intervention of Weygand showed itself decisive. All the rumors that circulated about Weygand's turning against Pétain were fantastic wishful thinking. It is far more likely that Weygand cherishes the hope of superseding the old marshal when age finally proves stronger than senile tenacity. Weygand will never rebel against Pétain, and though one cannot foresee the future, he will only *à contre-coeur* identify himself with De Gaulle, whom he sees as a high military officer who has defied the discipline of the army. Weygand is the man of the armistice. It was he and not Pétain who imposed the armistice. Considering himself responsible for its terms, he does not want a transitory situation to be transformed through a peace treaty into a definitive one. He wants this much less since British resistance and Mussolini's defeats have offered France an outlook which was not before it at the moment



THE PEACE-SEEKER'S PROGRESS

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it gave up the fight. Weygand does not like the British, but he does not go as far—in his animosity—as the simple-minded and rough Admiral Darlan.

Instead of allowing Laval, who for a time enjoyed the absolute confidence of Pétain, to play the game of the Germans under the cover of Pétain's name, Hitler tossed Laval on the table in one theatrical play—and lost it. Laval's failure has been a warning to the French collaborationists-at-any-price. Gaston Bergery shows himself every day more cautious. Only people like Doriot, who have nothing to lose, remain to be used by Hitler.

General de Gaulle

In the world of business the Germans are having greater success. If the average Nazi, after admiring the enchanting city from the Eiffel Tower and drinking champagne mixed with beer, is satisfied to buy silk underwear and perfumes for his Gretchen at home, the Nazi bosses have much wider aims. With frantic unanimity they have proceeded to grab the most remunerative Paris businesses. All those stories told by Knickerbocker and others at the beginning of the war about the greed of the Nazis and their foresight in placing their money abroad against the day of shipwreck in Germany have been fully confirmed here. Personal agents of Goebbels, Göring, Ribbentrop, and Ley have assumed the task of exploring the Paris market, acquiring for their bosses the most attractive enterprises. In accomplishing this no violence is used, there is no talk of forcible expropriations. They operate very gently, with white gloves and extraordinary caution, on a strictly commercial basis.

If the shares of a business enterprise are found to be for sale in the Bourse they take full advantage of the rate of exchange fixed by the Nazis, under which they get twenty francs for every Reichsmark. As soon as they have acquired a majority of the shares the business automatically goes to them. In other cases they investigate the financial situation of an enterprise in which they are interested. Since the start of the war the majority of businesses in Paris have suffered from a lack of capital. Well informed about each particular case, Nazi agents present themselves, generously offering money to tide over the period of crisis. In most cases this suggestion is enthusiastically welcomed. The new partner wastes no time. Rapidly he becomes the master. At other times the Nazi agent, carrying in his hand a list of the creditors of an enterprise which is in debt, goes around buying up the notes they hold until he is in a position to appear in the manager's office as the sole creditor with power to foreclose.

French business men who, like some of their fellows in the United States, believed in collaborating with Nazi business men have experienced a bitter disappointment. Amusing in this respect is the case of *l'Illustration*. Shortly after the armistice was signed, the owners of that well-known publication came back to Paris warmly disposed to work for French-German cooperation and eager at the same time to make good the losses incurred during a year of war. One morning there appeared in the publisher's office, amiable and smiling, a Nazi carrying an impressive dispatch case. "Good morning. I am delighted to work with you. I am the new administrator." Surprise on the part of the publisher; protestations that the main purpose of the review was to imbue its readers with an understanding of the new role which events had thrust upon the Germans in Europe; "Heil Hitler"—and all the rest. More smiles from the visitor, several heel-clickings and bows, and an insistence that he must have an office where he could begin work immediately. His interest in the affairs of the review was touching. A fortnight later he knew the situation and the internal workings of *l'Illustration* better than "the four Baschet" who had always monopolized the masthead of the paper and were also the owners. On the sixteenth day he called the owners to his office and addressed them thus: "Gentlemen, I don't know how to express my gratitude for your cooperation. *L'Illustration* is a publication which honors you. You may feel sure that in new hands its artistic standards and its traditions will be preserved. I do not consider myself entitled to abuse your kindness any further. After today your presence here will be unnecessary. From now on I take upon myself the responsibility for conducting the review."

Six months of Nazi occupation have been sufficient to cool the ardor of the partisans of collaboration. Even those ladies in high society who saw in the Germans the men who would save France from the vulgarity of again being seduced by such democratic experiments as the Popular Front now cry out to heaven because their children's British nurses have been put in concentration camps.

For the rest life goes on: there is the unpleasantness of seeing agents of the Gestapo nearly every morning in the halls of the hotel, but there is no serious trouble for those foreigners who can afford to pay six times more for many things than they did in peace time. With money practically anything can be bought in Paris—especially from the Germans themselves. If you are ready to pay forty francs for a piece of soap, which with coffee and sugar has become very rare, you can still get a good specimen from Coty. In the high-priced restaurants, pro-

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vided certain restrictions in force since the beginning of the war are observed, important officials, war profiteers, and some privileged foreigners—who risk the black bourse and obtain 80 or even 100 francs for the dollar—may still indulge in a meal which recalls the good days of Drouant and La Tour d'Argent. Naturally it is the middle class, the small functionaries, and the workers who suffer the most. In general the Nazis have taken good care that the price of food does not rise too high. Nobody can forecast the situation in the next two months. But today one cannot talk of famine in Paris—any more, at least, than one could talk of famine in Germany in the years of inflation.

For several reasons unemployment is practically nonexistent in the occupied zone: first, the large number of French prisoners still held by the Germans; second, the fact that people from rural areas, who in past years were drawn to the big towns, are now going back to work the land. Besides, the Nazi administration forbids a woman to work if her husband has a job. Many jobs which during the war were filled by women have been taken over by men. In addition, one sees daily in the newspapers advertisements inviting professionals, technicians, and other qualified workers to go to work in Germany. The temptation is great for the French. They are paid the same as the German workers, and if this is not much in Germany, their wages translated into francs amount to quite a good sum. The Nazis do not want to risk sabotage in French factories working for the German army. They allow the French to produce in France only separate parts—motors, airplane wings, and the like—and prefer to have everything assembled in Germany under the direct control of the factory police.

I imagine that many fantastic tales have been spread abroad about those Nazi conquests which cannot be ascribed to military genius alone. Evidently, in accordance with the old French tradition of political salons, there are certain ladies who entertain high Nazi officers in their homes. Long before the war the handsome Abetz was a favorite in certain circles. But generally speaking, a woman who is seen with a German is marked. She will soon notice, through the glacial reception accorded her by her friends, how severely she is judged.

The Germans, on the other hand, can count upon the generous collaboration, sometimes more forced than voluntary, of the *demi-monde* and of the whole underworld of Paris—Lesbians, pederasts, traffickers in morphine and cocaine, whose names have figured in the police records and are today in the famous card-index of the Gestapo. The apostles of the pure race and of the regeneration of youth move as if in their own waters in that Paris which has so strongly attracted foreigners avid of sensation ever since the days when Charles Louis Philippe wrote, with his bitter grace, "Bubu de Montparnasse." And it is not unusual to find on the garter of some of these ladies the emblem of the swastika.

The Choice for the Americas

BY LEWIS COREY

II. An All-American Economy

NO HALFWAY measures piling up costs and arousing discouragement by their futility can bring about the economic cooperation of the Americas. What is needed is a long-range program that is far-reaching enough to transform old trade relations and set in motion new forces for all-American economic unity. But speed is also necessary, quick action to ease the economic crisis of Latin America.

The opinion of Latin Americans in Washington, confirmed by reports of United States correspondents beyond the Caribbean, is that unless this country finds a way to dispose of the most serious Latin American surpluses an economic collapse may be imminent. A collapse may mean fascist uprisings. If these occur they will be a result of the collapse and due only incidentally to "fifth column" activity. The cartel plan of absorbing the surpluses was rightly scrapped; another plan is needed whose costs, not necessarily heavy, must be borne by the United States. Action on the surpluses would be a most effective answer to Nazi machinations.

Latin Americans suggest that many products now stored in their warehouses could be released by barter trade with the United States without hurting regular commerce. No action was taken, however, on the Brazilian government's proposal to the United States Maritime Commission that it provide ships to carry manganese to this country in exchange for coal, of which *we* have a surplus. An agreement drawn up by a subcommittee of the Inter-American Financial and Advisory Commission and accepted by the United States and fourteen coffee-growing nations has set up quotas in the American and world markets to prevent coffee price wars and to withstand totalitarian pressures. A combination of barter and quotas could be used to increase United States purchases of other Latin American products. According to the National Foreign Trade Council we could import more

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Argentine meat on a quota basis without harming the home industry, and more flaxseed by reducing one-half the "ridiculously high" tariff; these measures would increase Argentina's exports to this country by $50,000,000 a year. We can and should increase our Latin American imports as much as possible; yet when Nelson Rockefeller, coordinator of commercial and cultural relations with Latin America, proposed to the National Defense Commission that Brazilian diamonds be bought for industrial uses (we now buy from the De Beers African monopoly) and Argentine leather for military shoes, his suggestion, it is reported, was flatly rejected.

ON THE LATIN AMERICAN FRONT

Since surpluses are a many-sided problem they call for action on more than one front. Independently of the United States, the Latin American nations are making a threefold attack that promises substantial results. They are promoting:

1. The exchange of their products among themselves. Only 10 per cent of their foreign trade is now with one another. The chief difficulties, their competitive production and their lack of purchasing power, will take time to overcome, but meanwhile the Latin American nations are making regional agreements to consume more of each other's surpluses of all kinds: to exchange Bolivian oil for the products of Argentina, Paraguay, and Brazil; Peruvian sugar for Chilean nitrates; Brazilian coffee for Argentine wheat and flour; Mexican oil and cement for Chilean nitrates and wines. The agreements mean lower customs barriers, planned regional exchange of goods, regional economic integration. Most interesting is the arrangement between Brazil and Argentina, considered a model for Latin America, by which each agrees to buy $20,000,000 worth of the other's surplus products. Barter agreements make the planned exchange easier. Some of our business men attack the pact as a "conspiracy" because under it Argentina and Brazil will buy from one another goods they now buy in the United States. But such regional trade should be encouraged as part of the larger cooperation of the Americas.

2. Transformation of surplus products into plastics, synthetics, and other industrial goods. The Argentine government now buys surplus corn to store or to burn as fuel, yet corn can be converted into many kinds of industrial goods. Brazil is already turning its surplus coffee into an asset. Research by the H. S. Polin Laboratories of New York reveals that coffee has almost as amazing a range of industrial uses as the soy bean and yields a variety of new products not obtainable from other vegetable sources. With machinery built in the United States but through its own initiative and resources Brazil will shortly begin to convert 5,000,000 bags of coffee—1,000,000 bags more than the normal yearly surplus—into a plastic and other industrial materials. The plastic, called caffelite, has either a hard, opaque or a rubbery, translucent form and a variety of colors; it can be used as wallboard, flooring, and insulating material, and for molded objects such as buttons, inkstands, furniture, radio cabinets, and costume jewelry. Caffelite is cheaper than any other plastic in the world and as good as any. In addition to caffelite the coffee bean yields cellulose, furfural, caffeine, and oils. The chemistry of coffee oil is different from that of other vegetable oils, but its uses are similar—for soaps, paints, foods, lacquers, medicines, insecticides, and as a source of vitamin D. The Brazilian output of caffeine can be used to end the shortage and the artificial high price of that substance, since the new caffeine is a cheap by-product of the plastic. In the past nine years Brazil has spent $17,500,000 on the destruction of surplus coffee; destruction of wealth is now replaced by creation of new wealth, while competitive pressure is lifted from the exports of smaller coffee-growing nations. Many other Latin American products besides coffee and corn can be industrially utilized. Mandioca, for example, now grown only for food, yields materials which are used in adhesives, textiles, and paper.

3. Agricultural diversification to reduce surpluses and end the unbalanced production of one or two crops for export. Latin Americans are preparing to grow more of the foodstuffs they now import. They can and should produce the lard, dairy products, flour, potatoes, barley, and hops that they import from the United States. Regional agreements among Latin American nations encourage agricultural diversification by providing definite markets and facilitating the exchange of tropical products for those of the temperate zone. Diversification will not only bring about economic balance but will promote public health by improving the limited diet of the people—it is pitiful to see Latin American peasants produce great crops for export while they eat so little. Diversification will have political effects also, for it will help to create a class of small independent farmers. And by raising rural purchasing power it will speed up industrialization.

WHAT WE CAN DO

Much of the success of Latin American self-help will depend upon United States cooperation. One of the readjustments we must make is to open our markets more fully to Latin American exports. We must buy more to sell more, for the shortage of dollar exchange is increasing. During the first year of the second World War United States exports to Latin America went up 50 per cent, imports from Latin-America only 31 per cent. The disparity is even greater when Argentina is considered by itself. Loans to ease the unfavorable trade balance are no final answer, for they are essentially unproductive. A good beginning would be made if plans now being developed in Washington were carried out and certain Latin American products of which this country has an insuffi-

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cient supply or which it does not produce at all were admitted duty free. But that is not enough. There should be repeal of such irritating subterfuges as the "sanitary convention" to keep out Argentine meats. Nor should marginal high-cost producers—for example, of sugar or copper—get tariff protection; the capital and sweated labor can be put to better use. True economic cooperation of the Americas is impossible without a tariff system that encourages complementary production and trade.

Another necessary readjustment, supplementary to tariff changes, is for the United States to cease competing with Latin America (and Canada) in the export of agricultural products, especially cotton, wheat, and corn. This would not only strengthen hemisphere cooperation, but respond to our own economic needs and the trend of the times. For years increasing world production has been driving United States agricultural products out of world markets. The costly rout should become an orderly retreat. The agricultural crisis will never be solved by trying to sell surpluses in markets in which they can be sold only at a loss. These surpluses are evidence of economic unbalance, the worst manifestation of which is the disastrous one-crop system in the cotton states. In the United States as in Latin America we need more agricultural diversification, greater consumption of foodstuffs, plants to convert agricultural products into synthetics and plastics—an industrialization of backward agrarian regions that would create greater economic balance and raise standards of living.

Meanwhile, results may be more quickly obtained by the transfer to Latin America of purchases now made in Asia or Africa. These amount to around $500,000,000 yearly, $100,000,000 of which, I am told, could be switched at once. Virtually every agricultural, mineral, and forest product that this country needs but does not produce can be secured from Latin America. Among the agricultural products are flax and wool; nut and vegetable oils; substitute fibers, including caroa, which has three times the tensile strength of jute, and kapok, some of which we already import; tapioca, which can be made from a slightly improved quality of mandioca; carnauba wax, for which there are many industrial uses; digitalis, quinine, and other drugs. Among the metals are tungsten, antimony, manganese, platinum, chromite, copper, lead, zinc, vanadium, molybdenum, asbestos, mercury, tin. There is some fear that the Bolivian supply of tin may run out but it is nothing to worry about since our tin requirements are being heavily reduced by the increasing use of plastics and other substitutes, and there are possible new sources of tin in Argentina and also perhaps in Mexico.

The development of these new sources of supply will bring many advantages. It will diversify and balance Latin American production, tighten the economic cooperation and unity of the Americas, and make this hemisphere militarily self-sufficient. It will also offer us the means to break monopoly controls. All the metals and some of the other products are controlled by a handful of corporations operating as international cartels, many of them in Latin America; it will not be easy to break their grip but it can be done. Latin American quinine, which is now being produced in Guatemala, can be used to break the Dutch monopoly, whose prices are eight times higher than necessary for a reasonable profit. Mexican mercury, added as a source of supply to the high-cost California output, can be used to break the Italian-Spanish monopoly. Brazilian industrial diamonds can be substituted for those from British Africa. The United States agreement to buy and smelt Bolivian tin strikes a blow at the Patiño monopoly interests and the international tin cartel.

Government action is needed to develop these new Latin American supplies. The job and the stakes are too big to be left to shortsighted, conflicting corporate interests. The government can assure markets through agreements to buy definite amounts of a product for a definite period; such an agreement has been made by the Metal Reserve Company, a subsidiary of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which has contracted to buy for five years Bolivian concentrates to yield 18,000 tons of tin yearly. It is important, however, not to develop a product for which there may later be no market, for instance, rubber. It takes seven years for rubber trees to produce, and meanwhile synthetic rubber will be making rapid progress. The National Defense Commission has called upon synthetic rubber factories to speed up production, and their output will soon meet all military needs. Synthetic rubber, moreover, is being produced to sell for 25 cents a pound, only 5 cents more than is paid for natural rubber, and the price will come down as mass production grows. The United States may continue to import rubber as an additional source of supply, but Latin America should grow rubber largely for its own use. The same situation may develop in other natural products.

Those who oppose shifting our raw-material purchases from Asia to Latin America argue that the United States should not give up its economic stake in Asia. But the stake is not large or crucial, and to emphasize its importance is wrong-headed and imperialistic. Of the eleven strategic materials now obtained in Asia nine can be got in Latin America—namely, tungsten, antimony, manganese, chromite, tin, quinine, vegetable oil, sugar, and fiber. The other two, rubber and silk, are being replaced by synthetics; nylon, rayon, and other synthetic substitutes are already used to make parachute cloth.

But if it is desirable to buy our raw materials in Latin America rather than in Asia, overemphasis of this branch of trade must be avoided, for an increase in the production of raw materials without a still greater increase in manufactures would confirm Latin America's status as a

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backward low-wage region from which high-wage countries get cheap raw materials. Latin Americans themselves understand the need for industrialization, and considerable progress in manufactures has been made in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico. The advent of five-and-ten-cent stores in Brazil led to the production of a diversified line of small articles. Much more can be done in the manufacture of lumber products, pharmaceuticals, cotton textiles, leather goods, synthetics, paper, and toys. New plants are opening steadily if slowly. One neglected field —an imperialist neglect—that offers great promise is the smelting of metals which are now exported as ores or concentrates. Why should Latin Americans use metals smelted in the United States or England? They could get copper from Chile, steel from Brazil, which has immense reserves of high-grade iron ore in Minas Geraes, and other metals from other countries.

INDUSTRIAL LOANS WITHOUT STRINGS

The whole program of democratic cooperation centers in industrialization. A Mexican diplomat called my attention to what a representative of his government said at the Havana conference: "The economic development of the Latin American republics can be accelerated by an ample liberal policy of prudently made investments—which of course must not imply the threat of imperialist absorption —that will increase industrial production and buying power." Industrialization loans by the United States are part of the Havana policy. Several such loans have already been made, the most important being the Export-Import Bank loan of $20,000,000 to Brazil—which invested $25,000,000—to build a plant for the production of basic steel products. The Inter-American Development Commission has many industrial projects under consideration. One of these, now moving toward completion, is for a prototype plant in Brazil in which mandioca will be processed to supply material to local adhesive, textile, and paper industries. President Pierson of the Export-Import Bank may have arranged industrialization loans while in South America. Such loans are slated for Argentina, Bolivia, Cuba, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela. But larger and speedier action is needed.

The United States should lend to Latin American nations, at low interest and for approved industrial projects, around $500,000,000 a year—say, roughly, $3,000,000,000 in five years. Such a capital investment would create an effective foundation for industrialization, stimulate the local production of capital, and move toward greater, more balanced economic development. Plans have been made and approved by eight Latin American nations, including Mexico and Brazil, for an Inter-American Bank with $100,000,000 capital to make industrial and other loans, but prejudices and interests may limit action. There are those who insist that industrial loans should be made only for the production of goods that do not compete with United States exports to Latin America. This is wrong. Our Latin neighbors must be encouraged to produce all the manufactures that they can, regardless of whether these compete with United States goods in their markets. President Pierson of the Export-Import Bank is reported to have refused industrial loans to the Argentine government for oil pipe lines and hydroelectric power because the projects "competed" with United States corporate interests there, but the opposition of utility interests should not stop loans for government power projects in Latin America any more than similar opposition stopped TVA. You read in the newspapers: "Loans to Bolivia and Mexico will be encouraged by a solution of the oil disputes." If Mexico, or Bolivia, or any Latin American nation wants to nationalize the oil industry, or any industry, it should be allowed to do it; nationalization is a necessary part of the program to get industrialization. Interference may disrupt the whole program of economic cooperation and therefore be as much against our interests as against Latin American interests. There must be no strings attached to industrial loans.

An industrial-loan program cannot be carried on by private investment. There is much talk of "a new flow of venture capital from this country southward," but it is the product of a mixture of outworn textbook economics and imperialist appetites. While the Latin Americans want loans they want ownership of the new industrial projects to remain in their hands. They do not want to strengthen foreign imperialist controls but to break them. Moreover, Latin America is unable and unwilling to pay the high profits that alone tempt "venture capital." Nor does it want capital with reactionary objectives, like those of the United States Steel Corporation, which made investment in a Brazilian steel industry conditional on changes in the mining and labor laws. There is room for private investment of capital on a small scale, especially by business men who will live and work in Latin America, but it must be within the framework of government action to supply the great capital needs.

Industrial loans must be made by the United States government to Latin American governments. The totalitarian potential in government enterprise can be overcome by democratic safeguards. In Mexico's experiments with the distribution of power the safeguards are found in the balance of management, labor unions, and the state. Moreover, industrialization will strengthen Latin American democracy by increasing the new middle class of technical, managerial, and administrative employees and calling into being the labor unions whose interests are served by democracy and freedom.

The United States, too, will make gains. Industrial loans to Latin America will not be a burden on the Treasury, since they will be loans made at interest for income-producing projects. The loans will be used to buy industrial equipment in this country and will therefore absorb

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idle capital and provide new employment. If the very low incomes of 30,000,000 Latin American families are raised on the average $100 a year, their purchasing power will be increased by $3,000,000,000, and much of this will be spent on imports from the United States. Thus, while the nature of our exports will change as Latin Americans manufacture more of their own goods, total exports will mount. As intensive all-American cooperation gets under way, we shall approach a full utilization of productive resources that should mean a national income of $120,000,000,000 within five years (the labor of 9,000,000 unemployed is still being wasted, and only part of it will be absorbed by the defense program).

Hemisphere defense and cooperation are stern necessities that can be shaped into a larger pattern of gain. They mean action to solve our own problems of unused productive capacity and insufficient purchasing power and consumption. They mean struggle against imperialism and fascism, for democracy. A dynamic all-American program to shape a new democratic world is the answer to totalitarianism.

[*The first part of this article appeared on January 4.*]

Youth Reorganizes

BY ROBERT G. SPIVACK

THE Young Communist League has lost the initiative in the American youth movement for the first time in six years. That is the important result of the four conferences which were held during the Christmas holidays. College students, however, are not turning reactionary. At the conference of the International Student Service on the campus of the New Jersey College for Women some twenty youthful left-wingers, conscious of the importance of combating fascism at home and abroad, banded together to form the Student League for Progressive Action. This outcome of the confusion prevailing among young progressives since the signing of the Nazi-Soviet pact is a tribute to the emotional stability and intelligence of the group. For a mood of frustration and gloom settled on the campuses after the outbreak of war. Many a sensitive adolescent intellectual was heard to remark, "Here we are, not even in the war, and already a lost generation." It looked as if F. Scott Fitzgerald were staging a comeback.

Hopefulness and not defeatism characterizes the students who formed the new organization. Much of their inspiration came from Joseph P. Lash, former secretary of the American Student Union and present general secretary of the International Student Service. But the students from Swarthmore, Harvard, Mount Holyoke, and Smith will work out their own program. Not unlike their elders, most of them want to send full aid to Britain but do not want to fight abroad. They favor completion of the New Deal revolution at home as a means of defending our democracy and as a substitute for Hitler's New Order. They are not doctrinaire, but increased social ownership of vital industries does not scare them.

The formation of the Student League for Progressive Action marks the opening of the "fourth period" in the development of an indigenous youth movement. It all started back in 1905 when Jack London helped to form the Intercollegiate Socialist Society to offset the ineffectiveness of college education, which he once described as the "passionless pursuit of passionless intelligence." American entry into the World War saw the end of that organization. After the Armistice George Pratt and others published the *New Student,* seeking, from a non-Marxian standpoint, to discover a basis for the better life which would be more enduring than Wilsonian idealism. Flappers, good times, jazz, and gin, plus Harding and Coolidge, put an end to that quest. Intellectual meanderings were translated into "action" eight years ago, when eighty social-science students journeyed to the bloody mine fields of Harlan County, Kentucky. What they saw there aroused their burning indignation. Out of it grew the "revolt on the campus," which was sponsored jointly by the Student League for Industrial Democracy (Socialist) and the National Student League (Communist). In 1935, in the period of left-wing good-feeling, the two merged into the American Student Union. The Communists in that period were the more vigorous, and it was not long before they began to play the leading and often dominant role. The American Youth Congress, formed simultaneously among non-student youth by Viola Ilma, was also captured by aggressive young radicals.

The Student Union and the Youth Congress were able to exert considerable influence and to obtain some needed youth legislation despite their small numbers. At its peak the A. S. U. could claim 15,000 members. Included in the A. Y. C. were sixty-two organizations which cooperated on specific measures; the Boy Scouts and Catholic youth groups remained outside. By 1938 Mrs. Roosevelt and many other prominent New Dealers saw in the World Youth Congress meeting at Vassar College an important movement to be encouraged. By 1938 Gene Tunney recognized it as a "menace" and sponsored a curious conglomeration of Coughlinites and Jewish

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Young Republicans who made an attempt to break it up.

Then came the Soviet-German pact. The reaction of American youth revealed that the leaders of the Young Communist League had taught others a great deal more about the menace of fascism and the qualities of democracy than they had learned themselves. Not only did young friends part company in shock and bewilderment but the organizations rapidly began to disintegrate. The A. S. U. membership dropped to less than 2,000. The Youth Congress lost the respect of two-thirds of its collaborators; the recent withdrawal of the middle-of-the-road National Student Federation was the latest blow.

Despite the important gains for youth embodied in the CCC and NYA, only one national youth group supported the President actively during the campaign. This was Joseph P. Lash's youth division of the National Committee of Independent Voters. It was organized so late, however, that many youthful New Dealers found no vehicle for expressing themselves. The possibility of a Willkie victory worried them and spurred their desire for organization. Without any national leadership local movements sprang up in Kansas, Illinois, and Massachusetts. New Yorkers joined belatedly.

Although the picture is still incomplete, the position of youth is becoming clear. The trend is decidedly away from nationalism. There is a growing realization that wherever democrats are fighting against fascism they must be supported. With greater maturity than some of their elders large numbers of young people are veering away from the perfectionist school of social philosophy. In democracy they see the opportunity, as Archibald MacLeish put it last fall, to keep the future open.

In the developing movement there are many shades of opinion, but all have a progressive emphasis. At Kansas State College two students have formed "Democracy's Volunteers." Thoroughly unsophisticated, they display a native militancy by calling their chapters, of which there are now six, "battalions." They advocate government-supported work camps. At Harvard, where the Student Union found itself practically immobilized by divisions on foreign policy, certain members have formed their own Liberal Union. The Swarthmore Student Union has decided to withdraw from the national body and be independent. The Harvard and Swarthmore groups form the nucleus of the new Student League for Progressive Action.

Concentrating exclusively on foreign policy, twenty college chapters of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies are functioning under leadership considerably to the left of William Allen White. Working closely with them is another Cambridge group known as the Harvard Student Defense League. Their four-page journal, *Defense,* recently set forth the credo of the new movement in an editorial called A Cure for Cynics. It read in part:

> In colleges all over America cynics come a dime a carload. . . . They have put a price tag on every ideal, they have refused to believe that men could see beyond their own stomachs; they have doubted everybody's sincerity including their own. . . .
>
> The fascists want us to believe that this war is not our war. They want us to believe that democracy is a myth. . . . The cynics are doing these jobs for them, doing it as surely as if they were paid propagandists of Berlin. Many of these cynics were once liberals. They must find it a little strange when their sentiments are echoed in both the *Daily Worker* and the *Saturday Evening Post*. . . .

Four student groups met during the holidays to work out plans for the coming year. The American Student Union met in New York, partly because its membership is concentrated there, and partly because it is unwelcome on most campuses. The Youth Committee Against War held its sessions at Madison, Wisconsin. The International Student Service met in the second of a series of conferences on "How Students Can Serve Democracy" at the New Jersey College for Women. The National Student Federation convened on the same campus to discuss student self-government.

The A. S. U. convention was able to attract 350 delegates largely because reactionary college authorities, plus the Dies committee and the Rapp-Coudert committee, insist on persecuting young people who stand by their convictions. Roosevelt, of course, was assailed as a greater menace to America than Hitler, and a good case of anti-war hysterics was enjoyed by all. The "tory" New Deal government was urged to form an alliance with the Soviet Union and China! The discussion of civil liberties illustrates clearly why the A. S. U. has lost so much influence. The whole question was considered only in terms of the rights of members; no mention was made of the attempts of the New York University chapter to prevent recognition on that campus of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.

The Youth Committee Against War is largely made up of pacifists and Socialists. Communists, Nazis, fascists, and Trotskyists are barred from attending its conferences. Through the years the interplay of pacifist sentiment and socialist theory has led to an almost undiluted pacifist approach. Its program does not mention socialism. Agitation for repeal of the conscription act and defense of conscientious objectors are major activities. Its analysis of the present war strongly resembles that of the A. S. U. except in one important respect—the Y. C. A. W. considers the Soviet Union an imperialist power. To garner isolationist sentiment on the campus it is forming a Progressive Student League.

Among important current developments in the youth movement is the decision of the executive board of the International Student Service to extend its action. The board consists of young people and adults—students from Eastern schools and such prominent liberals as

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Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach, Mrs. Eliot Pratt, Dr. Alfred E. Cohn, and Professor Walter Kotschnig. It is headed by Dr. Alvin Johnson. In the last two years the I. S. S. has helped nearly 300 student refugees. It expects to organize six work camps next summer and is planning to publish a magazine along the lines of Randolph Bourne's the *Seven Arts*. Its main purpose is to "train student leaders for democracy."

The I. S. S. has already incurred the intense hostility of the Young Communist League, which has launched bitter personal assaults upon Joseph Lash, Mrs. Roosevelt, and others of its leaders, and charged it with sponsoring "Hitler-like forced labor camps." The Communists attempted to pack the recent conference with 175 delegates, but the move was thwarted. The conference agreed upon trade unionism, opposition to the award of government contracts to labor-law violators, defense of the civil rights of Negroes, and the necessity for democratizing the army.

The National Student Federation is the most conservative of the various student groups, although its leadership for several years has been liberal. Because a majority of the convention opposed the Youth Congress attacks on the Administration it decided by a vote of three to one to withdraw from that organization. The delegates did not have time to digest the proposal of their leaders for affiliation with the I. S. S. and defeated it by a small majority. It is expected, however, that there will be close collaboration between the two groups.

The next few months will see important developments outside the student field. The Youth Congress is holding its annual meeting in Washington in February. A group of young professionals, generally New Deal in sympathy, have formed an educational group known as the Committee of Thirty Million, which may assume functions the A. Y. C. once tried to perform. A recent issue of *Clarity*, organ of the Young Communist League, carried the suggestion that a working-class youth organization, apparently broader than the league, be formed as the backbone of the Youth Congress. When sounded on this question several young labor leaders (C. I. O.) said they would have nothing to do with it.

Trends of thought and action among progressive young people are in many respects analogous to recent developments in the labor movement. Even though Communist influence is waning, many are coming to realize that the defeat of fascism cannot be accomplished by defense of the status quo. More than 60 per cent of America's first voters supported Mr. Roosevelt because they felt that the war to achieve democracy had only begun. But they eye suspiciously efforts to placate big business and the award of defense contracts to Ford. To the generation now coming of age defense of democracy is a serious business. "Appeasement" is not in their vocabulary.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Case Against Tax-Exempts

IN A session which must inevitably be largely devoted to the unpleasant business of raising the wind for defense, few thornier issues are likely to be presented to Congress than the Treasury proposal to abolish tax-exempt bonds. This is a question cutting clean across political lines and reviving the perennial controversy over states' rights in its most acute form—the control of the public purse. The suppression of the privilege of tax exemption on government bonds, whether federal, state, or municipal, has been advocated not only by President Roosevelt but by his three Republican predecessors. It is supported by Old Dealers and New Dealers, by liberal economists and Wall Street bankers. It is opposed by innumerable state and city officials of all political shades, including two such dissimilar figures as Mayor LaGuardia of New York and Governor Bricker of Ohio.

Recently a new drive on the problem of tax-exempts has been started by the Treasury with some of the steam generated by the defense program. This, perhaps, is partly a matter of tactics, for in the near future the ending of tax exemption might produce less in revenue than it would cost in the shape of higher interest rates. Nevertheless, the huge prospective addition to the national debt does make more imperative the closing of this tempting gap in the fiscal system.

It is hardly necessary to argue that the tax-exempt bond is an anomaly in a country which has adopted the principle of progressive taxation. When income tax is levied on the basis of ability to pay, with rates increasing as income rises, it is absurd to provide the wealthy with an avenue of escape from their fair share of the national burden. Yet by investing all their capital in government securities millionaires can shut their doors on the tax collector; or, by a carefully calculated distribution of principal between tax-free and taxable securities, they can reduce their contributions to the revenue far below the amount payable were their full incomes subject to tax. Witness an example quoted in the New York *World-Telegram* of December 30, 1940:

> Taxpayer A is a resident of New York State, and his income from his business last year was $224,441. Also he received $880,408 in interest from wholly tax-exempt bonds. This would give him a net income of $1,104,849. On the $224,441 he would pay, according to 1940 rates, a New York State income tax of $17,441. Then he would pay a federal income tax of $116,586. However, if that $880,408 in interest from government bonds had not been tax free, this same taxpayer A would have had to pay federal and state income taxes totaling $818,386—$87,874 to New York State, $730,712 to the federal Treasury.

Tax-exempt bonds not only offer an unfair advantage to the man in the upper brackets, but they are positively disadvantageous to the man whose income is too small to be subject to income tax. If the latter has a few hundred dollars saved he probably wants to invest in government bonds, since these provide him with the maximum of security. To him

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the tax-exempt feature is useless, but its existence means he must compete in buying his bonds with men to whom tax exemption is worth a large premium. In other words, the small man obtains a lower return from his investment than he would if there were no tax exemption.

Another bad feature of tax exemption, when combined with a progressive income tax, is that it encourages the wealthy to become government *rentiers,* and either restrains them from investing in industry altogether or forces them to insist on an unusually high rate of profit. John W. Hanes, a Wall Street man and former Under Secretary of the Treasury, has pointed out that a person with a private income of $1,000,000 would need to obtain a yield of 12.5 per cent from private investments in order to make as much money, after paying taxes, as he would gain by buying 3 per cent tax-exempt securities. The wealthier a man is the more a tax-exempt bond is worth to him, and the greater is the inducement to him to divest himself of his full share of the national burden. To an individual with a surtax net income of $4,000 to $6,000 a tax-free 3 per cent bond is equivalent to a taxable bond yielding 3.26. When the income is between $18,000 and $20,000 the equivalent income is 4 per cent, and for an income between $300,000 and $400,000 it is no less than 10 per cent.

That, very briefly, is the case for the abolition of tax-exempts, but it must be recognized that there is also a case against it arising from the fact that such securities are issued not only by the federal government but by states, cities, and other public authorities. The right to issue tax-free bonds means that these authorities are able to borrow for public purposes at lower rates than would otherwise be possible. If this privilege is taken away from them they will have to provide more money in their budgets for interest, and real-estate and other local taxes may have to be increased. The federal government would also have to pay higher interest rates, but as existing issues of tax-exempts were refunded, it would be compensated by taxation of the income not only of its own securities but of those of the cities and states. New York and other states levying income taxes would receive likewise an offset inasmuch as they could collect on income derived from federal securities. But there are fourteen states without income tax, and this means of raising revenue is not open at all to cities and smaller subdivisions of government.

The Treasury, it is believed, will shortly ask Congress to place a ban on all new issues of tax-exempts, but in view of the intense opposition it is doubtful if the necessary legislation can be passed. In this event, the Treasury is likely to seek authority to make all its own obligations subject to all *federal* taxes and to bargain with the states for authority to tax interest on their securities on a reciprocal basis. It would seem, however, that in order to persuade the cities to come to terms some additional quid pro quo would have to be offered. One solution might be to give municipal authorities the power to levy real-estate taxes on federal property. Growing national intervention in economic affairs, in itself a necessary and inevitable development, involves an expansion in federal real-estate holdings. In the use of such property the government benefits from the various local amenities, but it does not contribute to their cost through taxation, and consequently when property passes from private to public hands the burden on the remaining local taxpayers increases. In communities where government holdings form a substantial share of the whole, this may mean real hardship. Hence there seems to be a case for a deal by which the federal government surrenders its privileges as an untaxed landowner in return for the abandonment by the municipalities of their right to issue tax-exempt bonds.

In the Wind

RECENT WHITE HOUSE visitors say that the President's decision to send Harry Hopkins to London was an implicit reply to the Halifax appointment. The President couldn't do anything about London's choice but wanted to make it clear that he was in no appeasement mood; so he chose a pure New Dealer.

FBI METHODS are arousing growing resentment among isolationists without the faintest fifth-column sympathies. Dr. W. Marion Jeschke, pastor of St. Luke's Evangelical and Reformed Church in Buffalo and chairman of the local branch of the American Peace Mobilization, has protested that an FBI agent visited him to tell him he was tied in with a "Communist front."

ALTHOUGH THE Ford Motor Company is trying not to air the fact, Ford sales, as indicated by registration figures, are continuing to drop. While the drop isn't precipitous, the curve is steadily downward. C. I. O. leaders think that this may help them to win the organizing drive.

BIGWIGS of the "March of Time" are jittery over the new release on Labor and Defense. While it professes impartiality, it ends with a speech by Gene Cox denouncing strikes in defense industries, and labor groups are reported to be getting ready to blast it.

AS A RESULT of repeated exposure of his right-wing ties, Merwin K. Hart is facing a minor revolt among members of his neatly named New York State Economic Council. Although all of them go along with his "economy" drive, a strong group is getting restless about his views on foreign affairs.

LARGO CABALLERO is still being held in prison in France although a Mexican visa has been obtained for him. The State Department is said to have received a flat promise from Vichy that he will not be shipped back to Spain.

WHEN AUSTRALIAN troops were reported to be entering Bardia singing "We're going to see the Wizard of Oz," one cable editor queried: Is it an ASCAP tune?

JOSEPH KENNEDY will start his isolationist crusade with a speech at Harvard. Incidentally, pro-Communist theorists are now saying the reason Kennedy soured on England was that he saw it was "going Nazi."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

VERY properly the President, in his message to Congress, describing that future which, he said, America arms to make secure, put the emphasis on the essential human freedoms. Few honest persons anywhere will doubt the sincerity of his purpose, his intent in a world of tyranny to use the power of America for the preservation of liberty. But two days before he spoke the leading American news service had sent out this story on its wires:

> *Hattiesburg, Miss., January 5*—(AP). Officers at Camp Shelby, nearby military training base, said today the body of Private Alton Beans, Battery C, 135th Field Artillery, Twenty-seventh (Ohio) Division, was found yesterday in an unoccupied tent. It was sent by train today to Ravenna, Ohio. Camp Shelby sources refused further information.

As important, I think, to freedom in America now as anything in that future which the President described is the statement which the Associated Press put at the end of its brief item about the death of a man who to most of us was an unknown soldier: "Camp Shelby sources refused further information."

Here is a dead man, even if a soldier. As related, his death sounds mysterious. Reporting it, the Associated Press, the chief source of news in this free land, felt compelled to indicate that it did not feel that it was adequately covering the news and to explain that free news about a death in one of the nation's camps was denied to it.

It has always been regarded as essential to public safety that any death under circumstances which are the least strange be investigated by public officials and the facts made available to the public by the agencies equipped to do it. In America that agency is the news-gathering service. This service provides the only information about what is happening to their boys which the people possess. Certainly if thousands—maybe millions—of young Americans are to be placed in remote camps under the control and discipline of officers, the report of the mysterious death of one of them should not be accompanied by a phrase which might be expected in an announcement from a concentration camp: "Camp Shelby sources refused further information."

Unless the Associated Press felt that it was denied information it had a right to ask for, the phrase would seem an almost gratuitous aid in the creation of fear about what goes on in the camps, in the development of a sense that there is a blackout of information about democracy's army. If the Associated Press was justified in adding that phrase, then some military men are using their power to suppress news in a manner which suggests that some of them have learned more from Germany than methods of mechanized warfare.

Wherever the Associated Press feels that such a phrase is necessary, the truth probably is that officers are not following a national policy but displaying individual incapacity. If this country is arming for the preservation of freedoms in the future, the right of the public to information about what happens to men found dead in army camps needs to be preserved right now. It is improbable that any mystery dangerous to other men in the service surrounded the death of Private Allen Beans. Mystery writers and mystery mongers, however, could make much of the strange phrase "found in an unoccupied tent." Ordinary people might wonder why the death of a private was given a place on news wires in an item which suggested strangeness without answering the questions the strangeness stirred. The military men cannot complain of the curiosity aroused when they themselves are the authors of the mystery. Certainly when the Associated Press wires the country, in effect, that the army is suppressing facts about a soldier's death, the public sense of security about its boys in those camps is not going to be improved.

I wrote something about another case of this sort a couple of weeks ago. There are enough such cases to indicate that a good many military and naval men—by no means all—regard the free press of a democracy as undesirable. There are certainly enough such cases to justify the demand for a statement of national policy. Neither the people nor the newspapers want the army or the navy to give out military secrets. But the public which is America is entitled to the news about its own army and its own navy and about its boys in both.

If a general or a colonel or a second lieutenant can suppress the facts about a death, what can they not suppress? What may not happen in suppression? If we are arming to make freedom secure in the future, a democracy cannot afford to permit officers in the army and navy, generally more out of ignorance than evil intent, to disregard it now.

The President needs to speak to the army and navy about freedom even more than he needed to speak to the Congress and the people about it.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

HENRI BERGSON

BY IRWIN EDMAN

HENRI BERGSON died in Paris on January 4 at the age of eighty-one. The general public, and that relatively private clique known as the philosophical public, had long ago fallen into the habit of thinking of Bergson as dead. Only on the publication of the dramatic news of Bergson's decision to renounce all posts and honors rather than to accept exemption from the anti-Semitic laws of the Vichy government was the world reminded that he was still alive. There had been an interval of more than twenty-five years between the publication of his phenomenally successful "Creative Evolution" in 1907 and the book rather blindly called "The Two Sources of Morality and Religion." A few people knew vaguely that Bergson was still living, an invalid in retirement, in Paris. A few, and not only philosophers, remembered when his name was something to conjure with, and his philosophy was hailed, by William James among others, as an almost medicinal magic. "Oh, my Bergson," James wrote to the author of "Creative Evolution" when that book first appeared, "you are a magician and your book is a marvel, a real wonder. . . . But, unlike the works of genius of the Transcendentalist movement (which are so obscurely and abominably and inaccessibly written), a pure classic in point of form . . . such a flavor of persistent euphony, as of a rich river that never foamed or ran thin, but steadily and firmly proceeded with its banks full to the brim. Then the aptness of your illustrations, that never scratch or stand out at right angles, but invariably simplify the thought and help to pour it along. Oh, indeed you are a magician! And if your next book proves to be as great an advance on this one as this is on its two predecessors, your name will surely go down as one of the great creative names in philosophy."

James's generous salute came at the very peak of Bergson's reputation. There was a whole epidemic of books about Bergson; his themes and his terms became clichés in philosophical discussion all over the world; and all over the world, too, "Creative Evolution," with its gleaming mellifluous stream of thought entranced many more than could understand it, and many readers, too, of many different worlds: the fashionable dowagers who found refuge from boredom in his *élan vital,* the religious liberals welcoming a philosopher who seemed to have found critical circumvention of mechanistic science and a new and poetic support for belief in God, in free will, and even, though in a somewhat Pickwickian sense, in immortality. Sorel could connect Bergson's theory of reality as an integral movement with a doctrine of revolution as contrasted with piecemeal parliamentary reform. Those wearied of the rationalism of the Transcendentalists and the fixities and the iron necessities of materialistic science, all found in him a hope, an inspiration, and a release. Here, moreover, was one romantic who seemed to have a clear head. Here, too, was a philosopher who, while a consummate literary artist, could beat precise analysts at their own game, and analyze nuances of feeling, action, and thought which seemed to escape through the nets of logic and to be crushed by the tight schemas of matter in motion.

All that seems long ago now. Bergson, secure, or so it seemed in the years before the Vichy government was thought of, in his post at the Collège de France, had his claim to immortality staked out. But his popularity with the general literate public vanished almost as quickly as it appeared. As for the professional philosophers whose admiration had always been tinctured with critical reserve, these now found more to criticize and, what was perhaps more decisive, began to think in other terms about other problems. When, in 1935, the English edition of "Les Deux Sources de la Religion et de la Morale" appeared, having been completed through long and painful years of paralyzing illness, all the masteries and subtleties of analysis were still there, extended now to morals and religion, and to art as well. The book was respectfully greeted, and has had some academic influence, but Bergson's day as a central figure in philosophy and, certainly, in general culture seemed to be over. Like other intellectual figures who became briefly fashionable, he had become dated before he died. All that remained in the public memory were a few tags: *"élan vital,"* "creative evolution," "the stream of consciousness," "the flow of reality." Now other men were using other terms for other issues. The intellectual scene and the world setting in which Bergson wrote had almost nightmarishly changed.

What did Bergson contribute? What remains? Looking back now one sees that, for all his "French" clarity (Bergson is one of the most lucid writers ever to have been a professor of philosophy), Bergson is in a romantic, almost a German romantic, tradition. In his early youth he was a disciple of Herbert Spencer, but soon felt, as so many less articulate people in the late nineteenth century felt, something sterile and inadequate, something artificial about the "reality" revealed by "scientific laws." In his youth Bergson had studied psychology and biology, and was caught by the fascination of two ideas, nay, for him, two realities: life and time. One of the most characteristically contagious passages of his works is in his little "Introduction to Metaphysics," where he makes one feel and realize, almost as a poet might, the tension and the fluency of time, the urgency and poignancy of duration. Bergson was rebelling against the fixities and rigidities which both logicians and materialists had ascribed to reality. Bergson found reality in movement and change themselves, an aperçu not uncongenial to the dynamic changing society in which he lived. If change was real, novelty was real; if novelty was real, freedom was real. The immediate was flux, and the changing was ultimate. When in "Creative Evolution" Bergson

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turned to biological considerations, he held that change means growth, growth means creation, creation means freedom. And if freedom was ultimately real, what a liberation that spelled for the soul of man, no longer bound by the fixities of space, of logic, and of habit! The real facts of evolution were to be found, not in a mechanical elimination of the unfit, but in the creative surge of life, in an *élan vital*. That propulsive life was best known in the living of it, "bathing in the full stream of experience." Knowledge was not in spatial formulas, post-mortems of the living flux. Knowledge lay in intuition, in the self-immolating and absorbed insights of the poet, the artist, the saint, of men at the acme of life, in the creative activity of genius, worship, or love.

It is not hard to see what the dreaming spirits of men, whose dreams had been clipped by physics and by society, found in this celebration of enraptured impulse and of creative movement. It is easy to see what people, wearied of fixed and conventional goals in what Bergson in "Morality and Religion" was to call a "closed society," found to cherish in his conception of spontaneous freedom in open societies. In the latter, Bergson suggested, the intuitions of seers and saints and poets opened new roads and suggested unattained but not impossible heights from which men might have angelic vistas. "The universe," he says at the close of "Morality and Religion," ". . . is a machine for the making of God."

Bergson's persuasiveness came not so much from the seductive vagueness of intuition and of the *élan vital* as from his shrewd and subtly destructive analyses of the pretensions of the intellect and of intellectualism to be revelations of reality. Intelligence—here he was at one with the pragmatists—was purely practical. It set up immobilities to guide us in the chartless flux. But for truth we must turn our backs on the "false secondary power by which we multiply distinctions," and feel intimately the pulsing movement of life itself. The pragmatists enjoyed and applauded Bergson's critique of intelligence and scientific method. The mystics and the romanticists applauded and hugged to their hearts the passionate hugging of life which he counseled as the way of reality. The liberal theologians were delighted because they thought the *élan vital* might lead anywhere. Did not Bergson himself suggest that it might lead to immortality and to God? In an age given to statistics and formulas the artists welcomed intuition.

Everyone rebelling against convention in conduct, chafing against formalism in art, revolting against the fixed and stable in thought, found in him an enchanting voice. Only other philosophers found things to grumble at. They did not mind Bergson's celebrating life, but they did not approve the obscurantism of turning one's back on intelligent discrimination. They admired the subtlety of his analyses, but could not make out where the analysis led, or, for that matter, where the *élan vital* led. They questioned the casuistry by which Bergson proved there was a real future without a causal past. They distrusted, above all, the anti-intellectualism to which Bergson turned his own fine intellect. The *élan vital* means a renaissance to a poet; to a barbarian it means brute power. The reactionary forces now in control of France are also exhibitions of the *élan vital*. But it was the intelligence of integrity that caused Bergson, just a few weeks before his death, to refuse to be made an exception by the Vichy government to their racial laws. Bergson's philosophy was once hailed as a new thing in the world. Its elements are very old; its mysticism is as old as Plotinus, to whom Bergson acknowledged himself much indebted. His *élan vital* goes back a long way too; ultimately to the Dionysiac mysteries and, in the modern world, to Schopenhauer. Its romanticism goes back to Schelling, Fichte, and Rousseau. Its dress was sophisticated and new; its substance was old and primitive, in both vitality and opaqueness.

There are subterranean vital forces now come to the surface of the world. The world is a machine making devils as well as gods. The abdication of mind is celebrated by barbarians. Instinct and intuition demand education, not wanton trust. Analysis may be abstract or irrelevant, as Bergson pointed out; it may also be the servant of that life which otherwise wanders into dark by-paths and fanatic blind alleys. "Evolution" is creative when men intelligently cooperate; otherwise it is, as events have proved, brutal, fatal, and blind.

Soviet Agent

OUT OF THE NIGHT. By Jan Valtin. Alliance Book Corporation. $3.50.

THIS thick volume—756 large pages, some 320,000 words—is a historical document of the first rank, a biography, an adventure story, and in places, so it seems, a brisk novel. It is all these in one, and in addition the structure and writing are excellent. Before you start to read it you had better plan to take three days off. Its suspense is such that you will not be good for anything else until you have turned the last page. And then you will need time to think and to remember.

Jan Valtin is the pseudonym of a well-known former German Communist. He was born the son of a respectable Social Democrat attached to the nautical service of the North German Lloyd. Growing up in the ports of the seven seas, at fourteen he spoke a smattering of Swedish, English, and Italian, and knew fragments of Chinese and Malay. The end of the first World War finds him at school in Bremen. He takes part in the uprising of the sailors as a young Spartacist. Thus his political life begins in a fashion typical at the time for thousands of intelligent working-class youths.

After the revolution is crushed by the Noske guards—cadres of the storm troopers to come—the boy goes to sea. But soon he returns to join the Communist Party and to become an international agent for the Comintern. He works in the maritime section, is trained in Leningrad for special work, travels on missions all over the world, serves three years in St. Quentin for the attempted murder of an alleged traitor, returns to Germany, becomes a ringleader in the two-fronted fight of the Communists against the Nazis and the Socialists—the "Social-Fascists," according to the party line. After Hitler's seizure of power he goes underground to continue the fight and is finally caught by the Gestapo. He passes forty months of torture in the dungeons of the Third Reich, then consents to become one of Himmler's agents in order to get free and to be able to join his comrades and take part in the struggle again. But as it turns out, he is arrested by the GPU for being not quite the docile tool that he had been

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for more than twenty years. After his escape from a GPU hideout in Denmark he finally breaks with Moscow, to be forever denounced as a German agent by the Communists.

This general outline gives no more than a faint hint of what the reader may expect. But it would be futile to attempt to indicate in a short review the many significant situations, theoretical discussions, and full-drawn characters of the work; some of these characters are well-known figures of the Comintern and the German Communist Party. Nor have I space to give a just estimate of the author as a writer. He has a natural gift for observation, characterization, and dialogue not easily surpassed by the renowned professionals. One remembers each of his protagonists. His description of the Gestapo hell is the most exhaustive and most convincing which has yet appeared in print. The author's account of his relationship to his wife, who died in a Nazi prison, is an unforgettable and truly modern love story.

Yet for all these virtues the greatest value of the book derives from the profound political lesson that it teaches. It makes absolutely clear the causes of the disintegration of a movement which, starting out to save the world, ended in crimes against its own ideals. The genuine surge for a better and freer world which attracted the best spirits after the last four-year slaughter lost its character and force as soon as it was misused and channeled in the interests of a single state, in a dictatorial, authoritarian fashion. The productive forces of the movement were driven into the wilderness; the yes men, the orderlies, and the paid adventurers took charge. Morality was replaced by vice, courage by intrigues, thinking by obedience. Jan Valtin is one of the many who hoped against hope that in the end everything would come out right. The doctrine of the infallibility of the great pope in the Kremlin and the little popes in the Comintern became a dogma to which they clung in secret despair. They were ruthless against themselves as against others. And only today are they learning the lesson that you cannot fight for a free and just world by giving up freedom and integrity.

"Out of the Night" will be misused in many quarters. The red-baiters will eat it up, but that will matter little as long as it is read widely. The fighters of the future will learn from this work many of the fallacies which they will have to avoid. Jan Valtin, after grave errors, has at last made his contribution to the cause of the oppressed, and with more than good measure.

FRANZ HOELLERING

Washington as General

WASHINGTON AND THE REVOLUTION: A REAPPRAISAL. By Bernhard Knollenberg. The Macmillan Company. $3.

THE title of this book is somewhat misleading. Mr. Knollenberg does not cover all of George Washington's activities during the Revolution, but only a small part of them. The author is concerned chiefly with the so-called Conway Cabal of 1778, and his argument is that the Cabal was a figment of Washington's imagination. The reader may recall that General Gates won the Battle of Saratoga and so brought about the surrender of General Burgoyne's army to the American forces. This was in October, 1777. A resounding victory it was, undoubtedly, with reverberations from Massachusetts to Georgia. Many American patriots, in Congress and out of it, looked upon Gates as the coming man, as a general who knew how to win. This wave of adulation led Congress, then driven out of Philadelphia and sitting forlornly in a little Pennsylvania town, to create a Board of War and put Gates at the head of it. The powers of the board were somewhat vague, but in a certain sense they were superior to those of the commander-in-chief.

Now upon the scene comes Thomas Conway, an Irishman by birth who had served as an officer in the French army and gained some distinction. From France he came to America as a volunteer general, and was given by Congress a rather high place in the American service, to the great disgust of many American officers. Washington wrote to Richard Henry Lee: "General Conway's merit, . . . and his importance to this army, exists more in his own imagination than in reality, for it is a maxim with him to leave no service of his own untold, nor to want anything which is to be obtained by importunity." According to the accepted version of the Conway Cabal—supported by most historians—this Irish-French footloose officer conspired with Gates, and possibly others, to deprive Washington of his command and put Gates in his place. Washington suspected this plot, and his suspicions were strengthened by certain letters from Conway to Gates, the contents of which were repeated to him.

Mr. Knollenberg declares that the Conway Cabal is "probably a myth"—a conclusion with which this reviewer cannot agree. The Cabal may not have had any tangible form; it is quite possible that it never went to the extent of written agreements, but I am firmly convinced that it was in the air, so to speak, when Washington discovered it.

The value of Mr. Knollenberg's book, as a convincing document, is greatly diminished by his obvious bias against Washington. He asserts that Washington was ill-tempered and lacking in candor, and gives a general impression—without saying so definitely—that he was a second-rate person. But he does not analyze the character, or the motives, of Gates and Conway. Conway was in fact an adventurer without any foothold in this country, a man without fortune or family and a "go-getter" by force of circumstances. Gates was not an American. He was English by birth and had been an officer in the British army. He was conceited, vain almost beyond belief. No great military talent was needed to achieve Burgoyne's surrender, for that former fashionable figure in London's night life had got himself and his army so thoroughly entangled in our forests that he had lost most of his artillery, his ammunition, and his supplies. Any mob of militia—if sufficiently numerous—would have forced his capitulation. Mr. Knollenberg does not say much about that.

George Washington was not a great general, as we all know, but he was a great man. He possessed the genius of understanding men and their motives, the genius of will and determination, the genius of what we may call—for want of a better term—a godlike loftiness. He could withstand disaster in torrents. I am confident that without Washington the Revolution would have disintegrated finally into local mobs, and would have eventually died. That is what the British expected it to do.

Before Mr. Knollenberg became the librarian of Yale Uni-

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versity he was a lawyer, and his book has all the earmarks of a corporation lawyer's argument in court. A brilliant lawyer, as you know, can take half a dozen minor facts and a few plausible assertions, and produce from them a document, with references and cross-references, that will completely confuse both judge and jury.

The Conway Cabal was a dramatic episode in the War for American Independence. As Mr. Knollenberg deals with it, the Conway Cabal is far from dramatic. Like most scholarly historians he appears to be suspicious of drama, vividness, and color.

W. E. WOODWARD

The Conquest of Holland

JUGGERNAUT OVER HOLLAND. By E. N. van Kleffens. Columbia University Press. $2.

THIS is the first authentic and comprehensive account of the Nazi invasion of Holland and of Dutch policy before, during, and after the invasion. It is authoritative because Mr. van Kleffens has been Dutch Foreign Minister since the summer of 1939 and was a high official of the Dutch Foreign Office for many years before that. But it does not read like an official account. Anybody who has met Mr. van Kleffens and experienced the extraordinary reserve of this Dutch statesman will be doubly surprised. He tells a vivid story.

The pattern is well known. But the clash between Nazidom and the "normal standards of civilized communities" carries a lesson which cannot be explained too often; it should be repeated until the Nazi philosophy and its exponents have been relegated to the outer darkness where they belong.

In Holland as elsewhere the Nazis attacked first and furnished their excuses afterward. Bombing from the air started at about four in the morning on May 10. It was obvious at once, writes Mr. van Kleffens, that the royal palace at The Hague was one of the principal targets. The Nazis may therefore say that the Queen at least was advised immediately. But the Dutch Minister at Berlin was called out of bed only at 5:30 a.m. and received by Herr von Ribbentrop at 6:15 a.m., and the Dutch Foreign Minister himself had to wait till proper office hours in the forenoon before the Nazi Minister at The Hague called on him to announce warlike acts that had been going on for hours. The Queen had long since had to seek the bomb-proof shelter at the palace. The Dutch Cabinet had met hours before and become a war Cabinet.

The Nazis did not take much trouble with the documents which were intended to justify their action. The memorandum submitted to the Dutch Minister in Berlin was different from that handed over at The Hague. It was not even intended for The Hague. There were no means of transmitting it, inasmuch as the Dutch legation in Berlin was immediately cut off from the outside world. Everybody attached to the legation was herded into a small building. They depended for food and bedding on the kindness of the United States chargé d'affairs and the Swedish Minister. Only after four days of anxious waiting were they permitted to leave for neutral Switzerland.

Ever since the European war started, the Netherlands government had of course been prepared for Nazi aggression.

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But the evidence was conflicting. It had reason to assume a certain German interest in the continued independence of the Netherlands because it had been intrusted with the protection of Nazi interests, first in Poland and in South Africa, and then, as late as March 27, 1940, in the Cameroons. It knew of the importance attached by the Nazis to Dutch agricultural produce and to Holland as a country of transit in war time. Important Nazi officials repeatedly gave assurances which the Dutch were entitled to believe.

Nevertheless, the Dutch had mobilized and were actually on a war footing when aggression came. Mr. van Kleffens makes it clear beyond any doubt and in convincing detail that the Dutch fought valiantly. He also explains that the frontier defenses were weaker than expected because the reserves had already been engaged by the German parachute troops and by troops landed from "neutral" ships in Dutch harbors. Nevertheless, the reserves had done their job in overcoming this new weapon. The Dutch air arm brought down the record bag of one hundred enemy planes in one day. But it was all of no avail against the Juggernaut.

Mr. van Kleffens discusses with surprising freedom Dutch foreign policy in relation to the Allies. He gives the lie to the Nazi allegation that the Dutch had already surrendered their independence to the Allies. In the Dutch legations in London and Paris were sealed instructions for communication to the Allies in case of German aggression. That was all. On the other hand, he maintains that previous arrangements with the Allies would merely have provoked Nazi aggression, and events proved that the Allies were not yet ready to give such assistance as would have made it worth while to risk giving the Nazis an early excuse. He even argues with considerable bluntness that the Allied blockade included measures beyond the limits of "common sense." In the matter of reprisals involving neutral trade the Allies made it clear, he says, that neither France nor Great Britain was to be deflected from its purpose. "Once more belligerent interest had silenced the voice of law." Nothing could prove more convincingly the truly democratic nature of the Allied struggle against totalitarianism, for Mr. van Kleffens wrote these words after his government became allied with Britain and while he himself was enjoying the hospitality of Britain. On the Allied side free speech has certainly not perished from the earth.

Mr. van Kleffens also draws numerous parallels with the Norwegian struggle, and does not hesitate to suggest that Norway might have prepared better and have withstood the Nazi onslaught for a longer time. It is curious to observe how a man in his position could become so engrossed in events of immediate concern to him as to lose sight of the fact that Norway was still fighting at the time of the invasion of Holland and went on fighting for another month.

Today both countries are fully in the fight, both at home and abroad: at home because their peoples have finally got what an eminent Norwegian historian now in this country calls the "Nazi lice on their bodies" and know the alternative; abroad because their monarchs and governments have been able to establish themselves outside the sphere of Nazi domination and are contributing great merchant marines, naval and air-force units, money, and men to the joint struggle. The voice of a free people can still be heard, and Mr. van Kleffens proves it.

BJARNE BRAATOY

Man Against Bacteria

GERMS AND THE MAN. By Justina Hill. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.75.

THE pace set by DeKruif in the dramatization of scientific phenomena for the allurement of lay readers is difficult to maintain. The present author is an accomplished scientist in DeKruif's field, and she writes conscientiously, accurately, and systematically of pathogenic bacteria and our defenses against them. Her book makes interesting reading for anyone, and the bibliography is remarkably comprehensive. Its weakest aspect is the attempt to give it a dramatic accent by such chapter headings as Job's Curse, the Staphylococcus, and Some Less Polite Germs; Sword Swallowing, or Drugs Taken by Mouth; and the like.

There are some minor errors—the reference to ferrets as polecats, for example—and there is the usual fallacious acceptance of the principle of causality, to which bacteriologists almost universally subscribe. Nevertheless, this book is the best popular presentation of an important field of biological science that has appeared.

KARL MENNINGER

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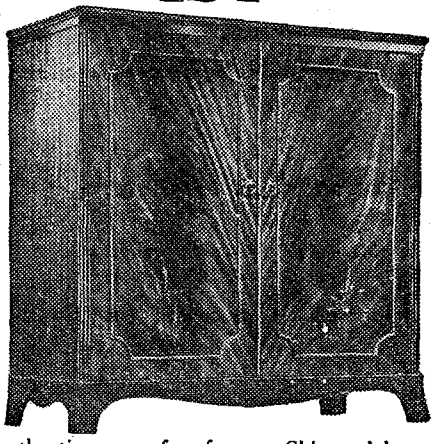

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IN BRIEF

SONS OF THE OTHERS. By Philip Gibbs. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

This has as its chief virtue the distinction of being one of the first trickles in what will undoubtedly become a torrential flow of novels about the present war. Beginning with France's declaration of war and ending with the evacuation of Dunkirk, it inevitably gives the impression of a novelized newsreel rather than of a work of lasting art; but the battle scenes are vividly portrayed, and the events, which were headlines a few months ago, naturally carry a gruesome interest of their own.

TODAY AND FOREVER. By Pearl S. Buck. The John Day Company. $2.50.

A collection of warm-hearted stories about the China of yesterday and the China of today; about villagers who had never seen an airplane or a Japanese until the two appeared in deadly conjunction in the morning sky; about rich merchants in Peking and Shanghai; about American missionaries driven to distraction by the patient stolidity of a people whom they do not understand but cannot help loving. The tales, though lacking the full-bodied flavor of the author's novels, make good reading.

THE SILENT DRUM. By Neil H. Swanson. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.75.

Following up some of the characters he introduced in "The Judas Tree," Mr. Swanson tells another appealing, adventure-packed story of pre-Revolutionary days in the country around Fort Pitt and the Conococheague valley, when the traders and the settlers were feuding and the Black Watch was trying to keep order. One year in the life of his hero, a young Dutch bound boy, furnishes not only its quota of thrills but a colorful cross-section of frontier life with all its brutality, rough humor, and urgent need for quick decisions and bold action.

AN ESSAY ON NATURE. By Frederick J. E. Woodbridge. Columbia University Press. $3.

Professor Woodbridge here attempts by common-sense methods to resolve the dualism inherent in the scientific view of the universe. He defines Nature—which he always capitalizes—as the sum of everything which makes up the setting of human history. Whatever is, he would say, is natural—including a belief in the supernatural. Sir Thomas Browne, Santayana, Plato, Goethe, the *Te Deum* contribute to a point of view which may be justly described as the fruit of wisdom.

DRAMA

One Kind of Unemployment

FEW who saw Miss Pauline Lord in "Anna Christie" or "They Knew What They Wanted" are likely to have forgotten her, though the most recent of those two plays is already sixteen years old. Few, for that matter, who know her only from a performance in one or another of the the trivial plays in which she has since appeared from time to time are likely to forget *her,* however impossible it may be to remember even the name of the play in which she acted. Something, as editorial writers say, is wrong with a system where the waste of such talents is possible over a period of years.

One may grant that she is no universal actress, that there are many roles to which her talents are not suited. But the tendency of casting directors seems to have been to limit her opportunities more and more, to make her more and more a mere specialist. Her great roles were those dominated by pathos, hopeless courage, and intolerable anxiety, and there is no reason why anyone should have asked her—as nobody ever did—to be a romantic ingenue. But that does not mean, on the other hand, that she should be given only opportunities to do less and less until finally she seemed to be remembered only when someone had to tear a handkerchief or give a blood-curdling scream. It is true that she does both these things very well. There is no one who can look more desperately unhappy than she can. But she can also act a rounded role, she can relate the terror and anxiety to a character, she can make the outburst mean something. She is, in other words, criminally wasted in such elementary and clumsy melodrama as "Eight o'Clock Tuesday" (Henry Miller's Theater). Another good actor, McKay Morris, as well as several other competent performers, is also wasted. But the others are almost completely subdued to the stuff they work in. Only Miss Lord rises at moments above it, and I rather fancy that she will be responsible for a tiny residue in the memory left by a play which might otherwise leave not a wrack behind.

As for the play, it is a very routine whodunit. So far as I remember—two days later—the villain is discovered, when the curtain rises, dead of a paper knife and with his wife kneeling beside him. As usual it turns out that nearly everyone in the cast had not only an excellent reason for wanting to kill him but ample opportunity to have done so. A most unorthodox detective takes charge, and scorning such trivia as fingerprints and blood stains, makes each person reenact his last meeting with the deceased until someone, who has to save someone else, finally confesses. The wonder is that anyone cares. The corpse had been such a thoroughly undesirable person that his taking off was a public service no matter who was responsible, and early in the evening I should have been perfectly willing just to pass a vote of thanks for the person or persons unknown and to let it go at that. In connection with plays of this sort it is usually said that it would not be fair to reveal the solution. This time let's be honest and just say that it wouldn't be worth the trouble.

Musical comedies commonly stick around a while even though less than rapturously received, but "Night of Love" folded up after two or three performances, and warning against it is not necessary. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"PAL JOEY" (Ethel Barrymore Theater), a musical comedy based on the book by John O'Hara, presents, with music by Rodgers and Hart, one of those characters with which the "hard-boiled" school has won its fame. The word "nihilist" is too big to apply to Pal Joey. His lack of any attitude whatever is so complete that he cannot even be called amoral. He falls among those submarginal characters so thoroughly set forth, in another environment, in "Tobacco Road," and he has somewhat the same fascination. In the first act Gene Kelley brings Pal Joey to life so unobtrusively and yet so convincingly that he dominates the melodious background provided by Rodgers and Hart, which really belongs to another world. At that point, however, the piece turns into musical comedy. It is good musical comedy; the girls are pretty, and June Havoc lives up to her name. But much as I like Rodgers and Hart—"Bewitched, Bothered, and Bewildered" is in their best vein—I was a little disappointed because by that time I was so hypnotized by the nonentity of Pal Joey that I wanted to see more of it.

MARGARET MARSHALL

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ART

Mané-Katz

THERE is an oddly haunting show of oils mainly of cabinet size at the Marie Sterner Gallery. Expressionistic images of the itinerant musicians of East European cities form the content of a number of the delicate paintings; and as a whole the exhibition curiously infects one with a pathos like that which street musicians often involuntarily impart—say, the violinists or guitarists who fiddle and strum enthusiastically on sidewalks, in subway trains, or in ferry houses. Within the frames one feels a sweetness of will and eagerness to cheer and charm similar to that of the players on the streets and ferries: one also feels a sadness similar to that which, despite their effort, rises over their jigs and marches. Blent eagerness and sadness emerge as poignantly from the larger pictures—with the expressionistic images recalling richly gowned personages of the Chassidim, the eighteenth-century mystical sect of Eastern Jews—as from the series of the little Polish itinerants. They overflow the frequently lovely color patterns and very refined harmonies.

The instrumentalists down on the street we are nevertheless likely to forget: not, however, these miniature works of art. Their pathos recurs to mind in after hours, drawing us back to them.

The artist, M. Mané-Katz, was the subject of an exhibition much remarked at the Wildenstein Gallery two years ago. Last year, while serving in the French army as an interpreter with major's rank, he was taken prisoner at Royan. There he encountered Picasso, who made him the much-needed present of a blanket. He asked the Spaniard, "What is to become of us, what can we do now?" Swiftly came the answer, "Why not arrange an exhibition?" Mané-Katz was put in a concentration camp, where he became sick. Fears of an epidemic rising from the heat and from the filth in which the captives were obliged to live impelled the Germans to send him and thousands of others into unoccupied France. Possibly through Picasso's faith, certainly in the desire to continue his life as an artist, he cabled friends asking them to procure him an American visa.

What causes his new show to stay by us would seem primarily to be his unfeigned vein of sensibility, exquisitely manifest in his projection of the state of unearthly meditation in the seated figure of the rabbi in Oriental robes. Even more prominently it would seem to be his frequent sense of pictorial style. Evidently it has been sharpened by Goya and especially by Rouault: one or two of his compositions, in connection with the fact that they are mildly visionary and macabre, make us feel Mané-Katz to be a kind of undemonic Rouault—without the heat of hellish mud. But he has a streak of rather delightful preciosity quite his own. Neglected in a few instances, in others his forms are well achieved. The sober "Trumpeter" is composed of a taut opposition of two rhythmic bell shapes, one black, the other gilt. The gay "Tuba Player" contains an exciting movement of expressive fiery golds. The serene "Drummer" has a satisfying breadth of line; and the spectral "Student"—probably the most deeply engaging work in the haunting little show—is elegantly composed of three simple shapes in dynamic interplay. PAUL ROSENFELD

RECORDS

STRAUSS'S "Don Quixote" is, for me, his finest work; but it is the tone-poem in which the correlation of programmatic meaning and music is most detailed and most subtly achieved, and one, therefore, in which some of the humorous points are only for the musically sophisticated listener with detailed knowledge of the score. Considered by itself the new Victor set (720, $5.50) made by Ormandy with the Philadelphia Orchestra and Feuermann is excellent. But I am better satisfied by Beecham's treatment of the work in the set he made for Victor with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony; and since he made it only five years ago the recorded sound is still very good by present-day standards. It is a little less rich and brilliant than the sound of the new recording; but it makes up for this with better balance and greater clarity at times: in the old set one hears not only Don Quixote jogging along in Variation 1, but Sancho with him, and one can manage to hear the windmills turning when Don Quixote first perceives them.

There is the Mahler emotion—the sickness-at-heart, the world-weariness, the bitterness; there is the Mahler process—the individual musical thought using an individual musical vocabulary in an individual way; there are the gigantic Mahler forms into which the process translates the emotion. And for a person who goes along with the ways of feeling, of thinking, of using the medium, Mahler's Ninth Symphony is a superbly contrived work of great emotional impact. Bruno Walter, who is such a person, makes his sympathy with the work effective in the concert performance with the Vienna Philharmonic that was recorded in Vienna in January, 1938, and is now offered by Victor (Set 726, $10.50). There is a little sharpness in the sound of the violins; but this is a more agreeable-sounding recording job than the one of Walter's Vienna performance of "Das Lied von der Erde."

Some other Victor releases: Most of Beethoven's variations on the theme "Ich bin der Schneider Kakadu" are as inconsequential as the theme itself—only the introduction and the ninth and tenth variations revealing a relation to the other music of this late period. The work is played with good musical taste, but with somewhat wiry violin tone, by Erling Bloch and Torben Svendsen, violinist and 'cellist of the Danish Quartet, and Lund Christiansen, pianist (Set 729, $2.50). Mozart's charming Sonata K. 448 for two pianos is played fluently but not very effectively by Luboschutz and Nemenoff (Set 724, $3.50). The lovely Boccherini Sonata No. 6 that Casals recorded on the 'cello under the title of Adagio and Allegro has now been recorded on the viola by William Primrose (17513, $1), who plays it with beautiful tone but in a way that sounds affected after Casals's wonderfully subtle phrasing. Respighi's Old Dances and Airs for the Lute, Suite No. 2, played by the New York Philharmonic-Symphony under Barbirolli (17558, $1), is moderately enjoyable; so is Frescobaldi's Toccata, which is heavily weighed down by the orchestral transcription and performance it gets from Hans Kindler and his National Symphony (17632, $1). And a new set of Falla's "Nights in the Gardens of Spain" for piano and orchestra (725, $3.50) offers an excellent performance by Lucette Descaves and the Paris Conservatory Orchestra under Bigot of a work that is little more than Spanish style used with sophistication and fastidiousness for three movements.

Szigeti played Mozart's Violin Concerto K. 218 with his usual vitality of phrasing and distinction of style at the first of his notable series of nine broadcasts over the Mutual network Sunday evenings at seven. He is to play a complete concerto each time; and if you missed the first two don't miss the rest.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Protest from Ukrainian Nationalists

Dear Sirs: I've read many misleading articles in the Communist press, but your ambitious attempt, in *The Nation* of November 16, to expose our Organization for the Rebirth of the Ukraine scores 100 per cent in inaccuracy, to wit:

1. Ukrainian nationalists don't want Hitler's aid to restore the Ukraine any more than they want your friend Stalin's aid.

2. The O. D. W. U. is an American organization, founded by Americans and composed of Americans, and it has no international headquarters in Berlin or anywhere else.

3. Vladimir Dushnyck was never detained in Belgium "for suspected espionage activities" and has statements from the United States consulate in Belgium and the Belgian Department of State to prove it.

4. The Ukrainian Press Service, of which I was director at the time, never carried any such caption on its releases as "Hitler sympathizes with the Slovaks, Poles, Magyars, and Ukrainians." As a matter of fact, it consistently disseminated anti-Nazi news.

5. Monsignor Ivan Buchko is not a member of the O. D. W. U. nor was he arrested in Brazil. He was stopped from delivering a sermon in Ukrainian by local police and left the country in protest. The President of Brazil officially apologized for the incident and invited him back to the country, an invitation which Bishop Buchko accepted.

6. The O. D. W. U. and the Hetman Organization are not affiliated in any way.

7. Four Ukrainian organizations did meet in New York, but the only group to urge that the O. D. W. U. and the Hetman Organization be thrown out was the Socialist group, the editor of whose youth publication was thrown out of our organization.

And as for anyone calling Professor Granovsky a "Hitler stooge," when you say that, you lie.

PM apologized for a scurrilous attack on a mighty fine and democratic organization, with which I have been associated for six years and will continue to associate. It is up to you to do likewise.

ROMAN LAPICA,
Editor, the O. D. W. U. *Trident*
New York, November 19

[Mr. Lapica's letter is one of a number of protests we have received concerning the column Within the Gates in our issue of November 16. Most of them were more temperate than Mr. Lapica's, but practically all of them made the point that the O. D. W. U., far from being "under the Nazi thumb," as our article stated, is working for a British victory. We are glad to learn that this is the case, and we regret that our author failed to make clear the organization's present position on this highly important subject. In fairness to the author of the article, however, it should be pointed out that formation of the Ukrainian-American Committee to Aid the Allies, the first overt sign of a change of heart, took place several days after the article appeared. As for the O. D. W. U.'s past, Mr. Lapica's protest comes with less grace. His charges of inaccuracy may be answered briefly:

1. The three successive organs of the O. D. W. U.—the *Vistnyk,* the *Nationalist,* and the *Ukraine*—are replete with praise for German National Socialism and hopes for a National Socialist Ukraine. There is space here for only a few excerpts:

> The only proper method to construct the political system of the Ukrainian nation is upon the principles of authoritarianism and führership, which rest upon the principles of creativeness, character, will, and responsibility of the individual.—Resolution adopted by the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists (of which the O. D. W. U. is a member-group), as reported in the *Nationalist,* September 14, 1938.

> The League for the Rebirth of the Ukraine in America (O. D. W. U.) is closely related to German Nazi-ism and Italian fascism.—The *Nationalist,* August 17, 1938.

When Andrew Melnyk was made head of the Provid, the governing body of the Ukrainian Nationalist organizations, the *Nationalist* captioned his picture "The Führer of the Ukrainian Nationalists," and added, "Long Live the Hitler of the Ukraine, Colonel Melnyk."

2. It is true that the O. D. W. U. was founded by Americans, but at the first Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists a resolution was adopted asking that "the organizational bond of the Nationalist organizations on the American continent with the Provid of the O. U. N. (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) be intensified, and that this bond be effected through the governing bodies of the corresponding Nationalist organizations." Representatives of the Provid were always warmly received, and at one meeting held in the New York Hippodrome the Provid's secretary was greeted with the Nazi salute and appointed to the nominating committee of the O. D. W. U.

3. In an article entitled Current Immigration in Belgium, published in *Svoboda,* Vladimir Dushnyck himself wrote that he had been detained in Belgium for suspected espionage activities. It is true, however, that he has credentials which show that he was cleared and released, and this should have been stated in our article.

4. Testimony before the Dies committee produced a Ukrainian Press Service release which said, "Hitler sympathizes with the Slovaks, Poles, Magyars, and Ukrainians." The attorney for the O. D. W. U. insists that there must have been two Ukrainian press services at the time. We can't say.

5. Mr. Lapica's statements concerning Monsignor Buchko are superficially true. He was held only briefly by the Brazilian police, he has papers to prove that he is now in good standing in Brazil, and he is not officially a member of the O. D. W. U. But he is, none the less, one of the organization's chief spokesmen and defenders and has referred to its members as "the flower of the nation." The question of his actual membership seems to us the sheerest technicality.

6. The column to which Mr. Lapica takes exception did not say that the O. D. W. U. and the Hetman groups were affiliated; it said that they were "brought together." They had been at loggerheads for years, and informed Ukrainian-Americans are agreed that they now cooperate closely.

7. We cannot be sure that the delegates who wanted to expel the O. D. W. U. and the Hetman Organization were "Socialist" on the strength of Mr. Lapica's designation. After all, Mr. Lapica thinks we are Communists.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Del Vayo's Emigré Council

Dear Sirs: The article of Alvarez del Vayo on The Duty of the Emigré (see *The Nation* of December 14) was magnificent; I think there is hardly any other statesman so well oriented in our

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world as he. The proposal of a Central Council of the Emigration, however, seems to me debatable. A union among the émigrés from many lands would lead, somehow, to their separation from the unity of American thought and action. Somehow it would isolate them in these United States, of which they want to make a Uniting States.

A proposal like the one embodied in the recently published "City of Man" takes care, I think, of such difficulties, and its intention provides adequately for a community in thought and action made of Americans new and old, of born citizens and recent citizens, and of citizens to be. In such an intercourse the experience and inspiration of men like Alvarez del Vayo and those whom he has in mind for his council would prove immensely more fertile.

G. A. BORGESE

New York, January 9

Dear Sirs: Del Vayo's article was both interesting and important; the comments it aroused (printed in the issue of January 4) seem to me even more significant, for they illuminated not only the problem itself—the creation of a Central Council of the Emigrés—but also many faults committed by the anti-fascist front.

A grouping of the comments shows that some, like Sir Norman Angell, would like to see the council as a kind of general staff that would touch off the revolution and take over its leadership in the countries occupied by Hitler; while others, like Bjarne Braatoy and Paul Hagen, would grant such a council at best the functions of a research organization. Pierre Cot chooses a middle course; the principal task he has in mind for the council is to contribute to the enlightenment of American public opinion.

It is no accident that the severest criticism of Del Vayo's proposal came from the Germans—Paul Hagen, Franz Hoellering, and Konrad Heiden; while the most enthusiastic response was that of Max Ascoli, an Italian. This seems to be explained by the fact that in Italy the idea of democracy has a heroic, a revolutionary tradition. It is indissolubly linked with Italy's rise as a nation; Mazzini and Garibaldi still live in the hearts of the Italian people. For Italians —also for Spaniards and with certain reservations for Hungarians, Czechs, and Poles as well—the fight against fascism is identical with the fight for democracy. The Germans, however—and that fact emerged most clearly from Heiden's comment—are keenly aware of the absense of a positive goal, of a program in the "fight against Hitler." The only democracy they know is that of the Weimar regime, and no anti-Nazi wants to see that reestablished in its old form.

These phenomena alone would justify the formation of a council such as Del Vayo proposed. It would have a right to exist even if it were only a forum for the forces that see in the fight against fascism a fight for a truly social, living, youthful democracy—for the democracy of Lincoln, Garibaldi, Masaryk, of the Spanish Loyalists and of the workers of Vienna.

Although I am skeptical regarding the possibilities of directing and promoting the revolution in the occupied regions from without, I believe that the council should not confine itself to research and theoretical work alone. The word "propaganda" has been greatly abused. But properly understood—as the active, passionate daily appeal to world opinion—propaganda is an important weapon. To sharpen, perfect, and coordinate propaganda would be a great task for the council. Perhaps the council will not succeed in organizing the revolution against Hitler, but at least it may succeed in organizing the crusade for democracy. That would be, I believe, a sufficiently explicit program for the moment.

The program for the future, which is to be realized after the fall of the dictatorships, can be discussed by the council only theoretically. Its practical application must be carried out by the oppressed peoples. It will be all the more comprehensive, and all the more far-reaching, the more strongly the idea of democracy is intrenched in the hearts of the people of Europe.

LEO LANIA

New York, January 10

Legal Aid for Objectors

Dear Sirs: May we ask your help in raising a modest sum to finance legal aid to conscientious objectors who refused to register under the Selective Service Act, In a few of these cases the defense raises the question of the constitutionality of the act. It is hoped in New York to carry at least one case through the Circuit Court of Appeals. Counsel are serving without fee, but the cost of records, stenography, and research is considerable.

It may be regarded by some as a waste of money to test the constitutionality of an act which most lawyers feel the Supreme Court will uphold. But questioning of the act on constitutional grounds has a valuable educational effect on the public. Serious issues are raised which the courts cannot ignore and on which it is important to have a decision.

There are more than thirty non-registrants in the country. Each man deserves legal aid.

We have constituted themselves a committee to raise the sum of $2,500 for this legal service and for the necessary accompanying publicity. All contributions will be expended on our order. Checks should be made payable to Evan W. Thomas, Treasurer, and mailed to 2929 Broadway, New York.

EVAN W. THOMAS, *Treasurer,* ROGER N. BALDWIN, CHARLES BOSS, JR., FAY BENNETT, ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS, RICHARD B. GREGG, JESSE H. HOLMES, JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, BROADUS MITCHELL, FRANK OLMSTEAD, A. J. MUSTE, NORMAN THOMAS

New York, January 10

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